

Next Power in Congress: A Man of Complex Ideals Gingrich's Hard-Line 'Family Values' Belie Reality of His Own Upbringing

By Katharine Q. Seelye

WASHINGTON — It was September 1942 when 16-year-old Kathleen Gingrich married Newton C. McPherson Jr., a 19-year-old mechanic in a small town in Pennsylvania. In three days, the marriage fell apart; nine months later, she gave birth to a baby boy, whom she named Newton Leroy.

When Kathleen remarried three years later, her new husband, Robert B. Gingrich, an army artillery officer, adopted her son, who took his stepfather's name.

Today, the boy, Newt Gingrich, is on the verge of becoming the speaker of the House and next in the line of succession for the presidency after the vice president. He says he wants to do nothing less than to save American civilization with a renewal of family values.

But, while he often refers to an idealized American family life with Ozzie-and-Harriet mores, Mr. Gingrich has made it clear he did not have such an upbringing himself. As he told *The New York Times* in the spring: "I'm not sitting here as someone who is unfamiliar with the late 20th century."

He was born fatherless to a teenage mother. He married against his adoptive father's wishes and later underwent a bitter divorce. While promoting family values, he remains close to a daughter who vocally supports abortion rights and a half-sister who is gay. As he has said, he knows life can be complicated.

Kathleen Gingrich, now 68, said that when she was 16, her father was killed in a car accident. He had been the stabilizing influence in her family, she said, and when he was gone, she turned to Mr. McPherson, whom she had known only briefly. "I never should have gotten married to start," she said in a telephone interview from her home in Dauphin, a small town near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Her new husband stayed out late at the pool hall one night, she said, and when she tried to wake him in the morning to go to work, "he got mad and he hauled off and hit me. It was the only time, believe me."

"We were married on a Saturday, and I

left him on a Tuesday," she said. "I got Newt in those three days."

She was not working at the time and could not support herself, so she moved in with her mother, a schoolteacher.

Newt grew up under the tutelage of his maternal grandmother, with whom he shared a bedroom and who stayed with them after Kathleen remarried. His grandmother taught him to read, which he does voraciously to this day.

After the war, his biological father, who had been in the navy, remarried and had two other children. Young Newt retained some relationship with him and was with him when he died at age 48 of lung cancer.

His mother went on to have three daughters with Bob Gingrich. She summed up the relationship between her son and husband by saying, "Newt is a talker; Bob is not." She said her husband preferred doing crossword puzzles.

One of Mr. Gingrich's closest friends, former Representative Vin Weber, said the father-son relationship was complex. "On one hand, there is a side of Newt that is brash, disrespectful of authority and certainly willing to challenge authority, but on the other hand, he really does value father relationships if they can begin to develop," he said.

Mr. Gingrich, who declined to be interviewed for this article, once told a reporter that he could not finish Pat Conroy's novel "The Great Santini," which was about a boy's struggle to prove himself to his father, an overbearing military officer. "His father seemed like a cold, austere kind of person," a former political associate, L. H. (Kip) Carter, said of Mr. Gingrich's view of his adoptive father. "He's felt abandoned his whole life."

Kathleen Gingrich said that of the myriad photographs that have appeared lately of her son, the only one her husband wants to frame is the Nov. 7 cover of *Time*. It shows a snarling Newt with his mouth agape and the cover line: "Mad As Hell."

The speaker-to-be is consumed with things military, and he often closes his speeches with bursts of patriotism and a reference to his stepfather's military career.

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Italian Politics as Usual? Berlusconi's War With Magistrates, And Allies, Makes This Crisis Different

By Alan Cowell

ROME — It is not unusual for Italian governments to be labeled shaky or fractious or frail or embattled: the country, after all, has had 52 of them since World War II. So there has been plenty of time — and plenty of government — to build a political vocabulary suggesting a penchant for instability as endemic as the common cold.

It is not unusual, either, for them to teeter on brink, dissolve and change like the colors in a child's kaleidoscope. And with the announcement that the public prosecutor's office in Rome on Thursday ordered an investigation into alleged misconduct in office by Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, the current troubles deepened.

But two things distinguish the crisis swirling around the rightist government of Mr. Berlusconi — the self-described harbinger of renewal now enmeshed in intimations of the same corruption as

be campaigned against — from many of its predecessors.

Throughout the Cold War, when the Christian Democrats kept power as the political deadweight that resisted Communist encroachment, successive coalitions were underpinned by a fundamental political arithmetic: With a majority of the voters on their side, the many coalitions had a basic community of interest in sharing the spoils of power.

Mr. Berlusconi's coalition, by contrast, has no such inner cohesion, as one of his ministers, Labor Minister Clemente Mastella of the small Christian Democratic Center party, seemed to say Thursday as the prime minister strove to unite his fractured coalition.

"The coalition as it stands now no longer exists," Mr. Mastella said. "We

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Serbs Tighten Siege In UN's Safe Zone Bosnia Appeals for a NATO Rescue, But Alliance Is Split on Its Response

By Roger Cohen

ZAGREB, Croatia — Fierce fighting raged around Bihac on Thursday as Serbian forces pursued a steady advance toward the center of the northwestern Bosnian town and NATO failed to agree on how to save it.

Claire Grimes, a spokeswoman for the United Nations here, said Bosnian Serbian troops advancing from the southwest had reached a point about a kilometer from the center of Bihac, a mainly Muslim town of about 45,000 people that has recently made a nonsense of the "safe area" status accorded it by the United Nations last year.

"After a brief lull early in the day, there has been heavy fighting inside the safe zone, to the southwest of the city and on Debeljaca hill," Ms. Grimes said.

Haris Silajdzic, the Bosnian prime minister, said Debeljaca, a steep hill inside the safe area, had been taken by the Serbs, but there was no confirmation of this from UN officials.

"The Serbs are attacking with tank fire and artillery fire and have taken the hill," Mr. Silajdzic said. "We have appealed to NATO to act immediately to stop these attacks."

Rapid action by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization appeared unlikely, however. At an emergency meeting of the NATO Council, alliance ambassadors failed to agree on how to stop a Serbian offensive that NATO is technically bound to curb because the Serbs have already encroached on the Bihac safe area, made up of the city and its immediate surroundings.

In a strikingly bland statement given the gravity of the situation on the ground, NATO said it "supports ongoing diplomatic efforts to create an effective stabilization in and around Bihac, and would be ready to consider how to assist the United Nations in implementing those objectives once they have been agreed."

In essence, the NATO debate centered on whether to break out of a cycle of messy compromises in the 31-month-old Bosnian war by using extensive force against the Serbs, or settle at Bihac for the inconclusive arrangements that have prevailed at other Muslim enclaves attacked by Serbian forces.

Conceding use of NATO force, favored by the Clinton administration if the Serbs do not stop their offensive at once, would put the UN peacekeeping operation in perhaps relations with Russia at risk.

But another compromise such as that that prevailed at Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde, other Muslim enclaves that were ultimately rendered powerless by Serbian attacks, might merely prolong the war, suggesting the alliance lacks determination.

Formally, the United States supports the extension of the Bihac safe area. Thursday by about 6 kilometers to include its complete demilitarization, including the guarantee of safe passage out to the Muslim-Bosnian troops, and an ultimatum to Serbian forces to withdraw from the safe zone or face air strikes, Western officials said.

But the proposal met resistance because France, the largest contributor to the UN force, with about 6,000 men, wanted to know what troops would police this newly extended safe area, remove from the UN military headquarters in Sarajevo.

Beyond this debate, however, a deeper one raged Thursday between the United States, West European powers and the UN military commanders in Bosnia. The officials said.

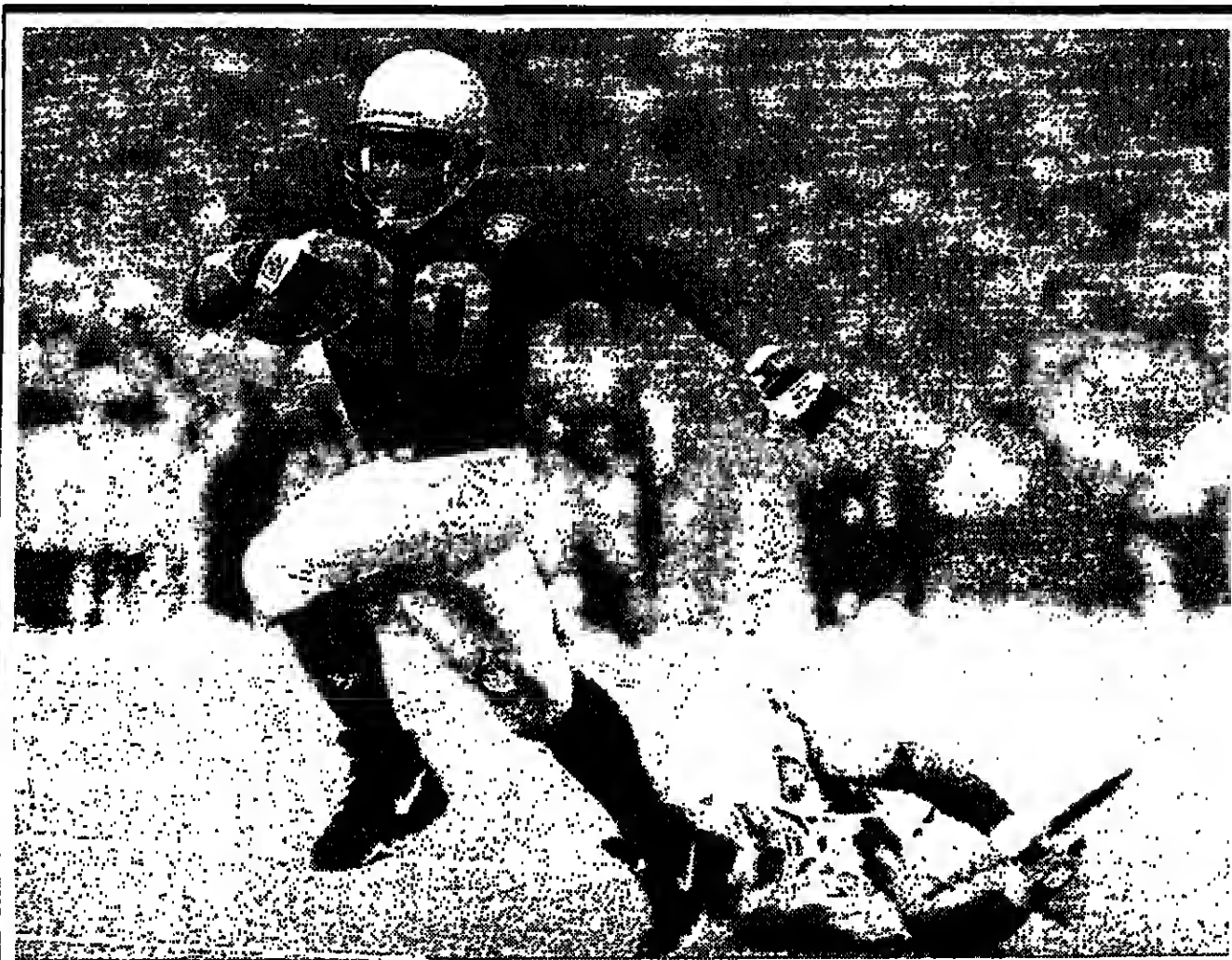
If NATO was compelled to use force again, the United States argued for a wide-ranging air attack against the Bosnian Serbs that would include, or perhaps even be confined to, targets outside the Bihac area, a senior official said.

"We don't want to carpet-bomb Pale," he said, referring to the self-styled capital of the Bosnian Serbs. "But we would not be averse to seeing a fuel dump or an ammunition dump go up somewhere, because we believe it would focus the Serbs' minds. And we don't believe they are crazy enough to harm the United Nations peacekeepers."

The justification for such action would be that the Serbs have encroached on a safe area and threatened UN troops there, so hitting any military target likely to reduce the Serbs' ability to wage war is justified.

But the commander of UN forces in

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HOLIDAY FOOTBALL — The Detroit Lions' Barry Sanders getting past the Buffalo Bills' Henry Jones for a touchdown Thursday in the traditional Thanksgiving Day football game in Detroit. The Lions won, 35-21. Page 19.

China's Creditworthiness Raises Foreign Eyebrows

By Kevin Murphy

HONG KONG — A growing list of unpaid bills and credit disputes between Chinese state companies and their foreign business partners and creditors is prompting the uneasy question: Is China good for its debts?

The disputes, and widespread fears that many more lie just under the surface, are making the international business community increasingly worried about its Chinese risk, according to bankers, lawyers and financial analysts here and in Beijing involved in deals in China.

Two fresh cases are being watched with particular concern: The reluctance of China's huge state-owned investment bank, China International Trust & Investment Corp., or CITIC, to pay for the metal-trading losses of its Shanghai branch, and a suit in New York by Lehman Brothers Inc. to recover \$97.5 million in foreign-exchange trading losses.

"When people wake up to China's view toward contracts and the ad hoc accommodation that is often demanded in practice, it's sure to give them pause," said a

Beijing-based lawyer, who spoke on condition that he not be identified.

"With most disputes like this it's not a question of a company's creditworthiness, but the firm's interest in meeting its obligations," the lawyer said, echoing a sentiment widely held among Western businesses closely watching the New York case.

Last month, a group of foreign banks asked the government to step in and help recover \$600 million in unpaid loans from leasing deals.

The cases have laid bare the abundant uncertainties of investing in a Communist country moving quickly but not completely to a market economy. They also highlight the fundamental issues China must confront if it hopes to avoid higher financing costs for its huge development needs in coming years, bankers and lawyers involved in China said.

Development has brought a huge thirst for funds. China's foreign debt is expected to surpass \$100 billion this year after hitting \$85 billion in 1993.

Even Li Ka-shing, the Hong Kong tycoon and an adviser to Beijing who holds

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Clinton-Dole Deal: Way to Avoid Gridlock

By R. W. Apple Jr.

WASHINGTON — Things will not always be so easy, but the agreement between the White House and Senator Bob Dole of Kansas on the worldwide trade pact demonstrated that the Republican triumph in the midterm elections need not produce two years of gridlock in Washington, with Congress and President Bill Clinton constantly at war.

It will certainly be difficult for Mr. Clinton to govern, but it will not be impossible, as some shell-shocked Democrats had first thought.

Mr. Dole's decision to support the trade

agreement suggests that he, and no doubt many other Republican lawmakers, believe that their party's self-interest lies in accomplishment, not in relentless naysaying.

If that proves to be the case, a long series of negotiations lies ahead between the Re-

publicans at one end of Pennsylvania Avenue and the Democrats at the other, issue by issue, with each seeking not only political advantage but also a record of achievement for an electorate that demands change.

Mr. Clinton will win some and lose

some. At times, he will find Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina and friends blocking his path or lobbing verbal grenades at him. But on other matters, including some of the items in the Republicans' "Contract With America," deals will probably be possible.

Admittedly this was a special case. The new accord negotiated under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which now seems headed for passage in next week's lame-duck session on Capitol Hill, was a Republican project from the start, negotiated first by the Reagan administration.

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For Japanese, All Is 'Confusion' in the Latest Political Free-for-All

By James Sterngold

TOKYO — The political earthquake that ended nearly four decades of one-party government in Japan last year had settled in recent months into a period of quiet maneuvering over who would control the slow reconstruction of the country's political order and how much the economy would be opened.

But suddenly the apparent calm has been shattered, with the conservative rebels who brought down the old system 18 months ago voting to dissolve their new parties in a kind of parliamentary free-for-all and the Socialists, led by Prime Minister Tomichi Murayama, on the verge of splitting because of a deep ideological rift.

The world's second-largest economy is suddenly heading toward a period of deepening political turmoil just as the Parliament has introduced a new election system that is bound to change its character.

One of the few remaining certainties is that the Parliament appears likely to vote for Japan's entry

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into a new world trading system within the next several weeks. But beyond that, most observers in Japan expect greater upheaval.

With tensions running high, Mr. Murayama has reportedly agreed to cancel an important visit to

China in mid-December so that he can devote himself to preserving his party.

In one of the most potent symbols of the reordering, the Japan New Party of former Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa, whose formation prefigured this extraordinary realignment of Japanese politics, has voted to disband. And Thursday, the remaining conservative and centrist opposition parties confirmed they will dissolve by early next month, closing a brief but interesting period.

"What we did had great significance, because we proved there can be a change of government in Japan," said Tsutomu Hata, the leader of the opposition Japan Renewal Party and prime minister for a brief, turbulent period last spring.

Together, these groups said they would form a loose-knit party, to be called the New Progressive Party. They vowed to unite to bring down the present governing coalition, consisting of the Socialists and the rightist Liberal Democratic Party.

But shortly after forming the new party, several opposition leaders admitted that it was likely to be temporary and would probably disband soon, perhaps after the next election.

"In a way, this is a transitional step," said Kazuo Aichi, a former defense minister and a leader of the nascent party. "This group has not exactly agreed on a platform. Rather, this resulted from a number of

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How Argentines Domesticated Their Once Coup-Prone Armed Forces

By Calvin Sims

BUENOS AIRES — Ever since Argentina's defeat by Britain in the Falkland War in 1982, the armed forces have been in decline here, and President Carlos Menem has virtually eliminated any threat of a future military coup through a series of steps since taking office in 1990.

The Menem government has cut military spending in half, reduced the armed forces to 20,000 troops from 100,000, retreated from unprofitable military enterprises and abolished mandatory military service in favor of a professional force.

The Argentine military, well known for violent coups and political ambition, has become innocuous,

perhaps the army most subordinate to democratic rule, in South America.

Almost everyone here agrees, albeit with slight trepidation, that a return to power by the military is highly unlikely.

"They no longer wield the power they had 5 or 10 years ago," said Martin Abrego, director of the Center for Legal and Social Studies, a human-rights group here.

Government officials said the future role of the military in Argentina was most likely to be limited to guarding the 2,150-mile frontier, combating terrorism and joining international peacekeeping missions.

"We intend to professionalize the military, to give it a new look, a new role in our society," Defense Minister Oscar Hector Camillón said in an interview.

"It's a role that we are still defining, but one that will show our citizens that the military can be a constructive force."

Mr. Menem has gone out of his way to keep top military brass happy during the dismantling of the military establishment. He has granted broad pardons to officers on trial for rights abuses and to military personnel and civilians who took part in past uprisings.

In recent weeks, Mr. Menem has angered human-rights groups by telling Argentines "not to look back" on the rights abuses committed during the "dirty war," the military junta's fight against leftists in the 1970s, and by praising the military's role.

Mr. Menem, who himself was imprisoned for five

years by the military, said his incarceration gave him "more authority than many to talk about this."

Horacio Jaunarena, a member of Congress and defense minister under Mr. Menem's predecessor, Raúl Alfonsín, thinks that Mr. Menem has gone too far.

"By dismissing the human-rights abuses as a thing of the past, Menem is trying to make up for what he can't give the military in increased funding," he said. "But to do this is a mistake because this country is not yet ready to forget the past. We are still in the healing process."

Throughout its history, Argentina has been dominated by military governments with a record of hu-

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Gabon	960 CFA	Spain	200 PTAS	
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Ivory Coast	1,120 CFA	U.A.E.	8.50 Dirh	
Jordan	1 JD	U.S. Mil.	(Eur.) \$1.10	
Lebanon	US\$ 1.50			

From Bad to Worse for Health Care in Eastern Europe

By Jane Perlez
New York Times Service

CONSTANTA, Romania — In the shabby maternity ward of the county hospital here, Dr. Veronica Niculescu threw a greasy slab of brown soap onto a table. Crudely made from cheap fat, the soap smelled like a barnyard.

"This is the only soap we have, and it has no disinfectant properties," she said with disgust. "We are told by the government: hospitals and medicine are not productive, so you get no money from us."

The hospital had run out of rubber gloves, and there was no money in the budget to pay for heat this winter, she said.

Romania's health system is probably the poorest in Eastern Europe and has suffered one of the steepest declines since communism collapsed in 1989. But all over the formerly Communist region, financially strapped governments have neglected health care and now face what experts are calling an unprecedented crisis.

The mortality and health crisis hardening most Eastern European countries since 1989 is without precedent in the European peace-time history of this century," Unicef said in a report issued in August.

A surge in deaths, particularly among adult men, could be attributed to the erosion of medical services, widespread poverty and stress, the UN report said. At the same time that services were declining, the ef-

fects of smoking, pollution and diets heavy with fat were leading to more illness, it added.

A World Bank assessment this fall concluded that the health situation was so bad in much of Eastern Europe that it was beginning to affect the ability of some countries to compete on the world market.

The Czech Republic is the only East European country where attempts have been made to change the medical system from the Communist model and where the mortality rates have not risen.

Many patients say that health care during the Communist era was far from perfect, and indeed, often a scary procedure. But at least, they say, it was basically free, with additional bribes usually being not much more than a box of chocolates or flowers for the doctor.

Technically, health care in the former East bloc countries remains free. But in many cases, patients complain that payments to doctors are now expected in cash — and in substantial amounts. Only in the Czech Republic has a system been set up where doctors can open a private practice and their patients can get insurance reimbursement.

The gap in health care systems between the former Communist countries and Western Europe is "wide and growing," said Alexander S. Preker, who wrote the World Bank report.

The economic consequences, as well as the human tragedies, involved

in poor health care have drawn sudden attention in Eastern Europe as these findings have come to light.

Surprisingly, it is not the very young or the old who appear to have suffered most from the creaking health systems, but rather working men between the ages of 20 and 59. The death rate among men, suffering from cardiovascular problems and cancers, has soared in all countries

rope say they feel helpless about the medical care they receive.

Helena Gasiorowska, a 58-year-old grandmother who retired early from her bookkeeper's job in Warsaw because of eye problems, has been treated for glaucoma since 1987. She has had three operations. But each time she has been treated — in one of Warsaw's better hospitals — the doctors use the same antiquated diagnostic equipment, she said.

"Even the doctors complain about the equipment," she said. After each operation, she has stayed in hospital rooms with eight beds. "They were always all occupied," she said.

The price of the prescribed medicine, which should be paid for by the insurance system but is not, is beyond her ability to pay from her monthly pension of about \$150, she said.

"I have to buy a small tube of pills, which cost 600,000 zloty, and I have to take them all the time," she said. That is about \$25. "I worked for 36 years, all the time paying an insurance premium, and now when I need health care I get nothing from it."

In Romania, relatives of patients bring food and even basic medical equipment to the hospital. In complicated cases, surgeons are given hefty under-the-table payments to operate.

Liliana Miron, a 27-year-old social worker in Constanta, said her family had to pay unofficially the equivalent of about \$115 to a neurosurgeon in Bucharest to operate on her father. The payment was about twice the

surgeon's monthly salary from the government, she said.

"If we didn't bribe, the doctor wouldn't operate," she said, adding that the family provided medicine and syringes.

In some cases, where patients cannot afford to pay the nurses for special care, patients die.

At the Constanta County Hospital during the summer, a poor couple could not afford to pay \$1.15 for imported cigarettes for the nurse who was supposed to feed their baby, who was born with a cleft palate. The baby died, officials with an international adoption agency said.

Doctors and hospital directors say they are losing faith in the medical systems in which they work. Doctors must cope with rundown equipment, some of which is so old it cannot even be repaired. In some places, the best hospitals do not have basic supplies.

In the Czech Republic and Poland, the big specialist hospitals are in even worse shape.

To little avail, proposals have been made in Poland and Hungary to overhaul the medical systems so that those who can afford to pay at least a little toward their health care do so. This would then enable those who cannot afford to pay to get better treatment, experts say.

But so far, these health care systems remain much as they did under the last years of communism. "The belief that health insurance exists in Poland is a myth," said Jacek Ruskowski, an adviser on health care reform to the World Bank in Poland.

The gap between West and East is 'wide and growing.'

covered by the Unicef report, which included Russia and Ukraine, except in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Entitlement to a wide range of health services, which was considered one of the mainstays of the Communist era, had begun to diminish before 1989 and has eroded further since.

Bribery by patients to doctors and nurses was commonplace under the Communists but has become even more pervasive in some countries as state-run medical institutions pay doctors less than bus drivers. In Poland, a leading newspaper, *Rzeczpospolita*, estimated this month that one-fourth of all the money spent annually in Poland on health care was spent by patients on "bribes and presents."

Patients throughout Eastern Eu-

An Israeli Court Sentences Arab to Death for Bombing

By Clyde Haberman
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — In a rare action, an Israeli military court sentenced a Palestinian to death on Thursday for having planned a bombing that killed five Israelis and the bomber in northern Israel last April.

It was the first time that a military court had called for capital punishment in a dozen years or more, Israeli civil-rights lawyers said, and they expressed doubts that this sentence would be carried out any more than three or four others that were ordered in the past.

Israel has no death penalty except in cases involving Nazi war criminals and their collaborators. The only person executed here was Adolf Eichmann, architect of the Nazi program to exterminate the Jews, who was hanged in 1962.

John Demjanjuk, found guilty in 1988 of having been the Treblinka death camp guard known as "Ivan the Terrible," was also sentenced to death. But the conviction was overturned by the Israeli Supreme Court last year, and Mr. Demjanjuk was allowed to return to his home outside Cleveland.

Uri Dromi, a government spokesman, said official policy on capital punishment had not changed. Nevertheless, the lat-

est court ruling, by three officers on reserve duty, may reflect a growing frustration among Israelis with their leaders' inability to stop a wave of suicide attacks by Islamic radicals that has claimed about 30 Israeli lives in recent weeks.

Prosecutors had recommended a life sentence, but the judges on their own called for the death of the Palestinian, Said Badarnah, 24, who was said to have trained the suicide bomber who blew up a bus in the central bus station of Hadera on April 13. Mr. Badarnah, who is from Yabed, a village near the northern West Bank town of Jenin, belongs to the Islamic Resistance Movement, commonly known as Hamas.

A week earlier, another Hamas member blew himself up on a bus in the northern Israeli town of Afula, killing eight others. Both attacks, Hamas said in leaflets, were in revenge for the massacre of 29 Palestinian worshippers by an Israeli settler in Hebron last February.

Israeli radio quoted the three judges as saying that, while they knew international opinion was against capital punishment, they felt that long prison terms had failed to deter Islamic suicide attacks.

"Maybe those three people, who come from the Israeli public, said, 'We tried everything

else — how about this?' " Mr. Dromi said.

There have been calls in vain in the Israeli Parliament for the death penalty in terrorism cases. "This decision will generate a lot of debate, but I think the Israeli public as a whole will reject capital punishment," Mr. Dromi said.

Palestinians in the West Bank are tried by Israeli military courts, and Leah Zemel, a civil-rights lawyer, said she knew of at least three instances in which judges had sentenced defendants to death, including a man she had represented in the late 1970s. All the sentences were reduced to life prison terms by the military court of appeals, she said.

On Golan: It's Lost in Translation

BUENOS AIRES — Argentina blamed a translation error on Thursday for a diplomatic incident with Israel over its willingness to withdraw from the Golan Heights.

President Carlos Saul Menem, visiting Damascus, was quoted as telling reporters that he had conveyed to the Syrian president, Hafez Assad, a message from Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel that Israel was willing to withdraw fully from the occupied areas.

In Jerusalem, Mr. Peres quickly denied Mr. Menem's remarks, although he confirmed that there had been a message to Mr. Assad. Asked if the message included mention of a full withdrawal, Mr. Peres replied: "Absolutely not."

In Ottawa, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel also denied Mr. Menem's remarks.

Mr. Menem's office made public a transcript of his remarks in Spanish which never showed the word "full" used in reference to an Israeli withdrawal. A presidential spokesman said there had been an error in the translation.

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LAUREATES IN SPAIN — Yasser Arafat with Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez in Madrid. The PLO leader and Yitzhak Rabin of Israel were in Spain to receive a peace prize Thursday. Prime Minister Rabin said talks on Palestinian elections would reopen Monday.

Major Calls Bluff of a Band of Tory 'Euro-Skeptics'

By John Darnton
New York Times Service

LONDON — Playing a high-stakes game to try to whip his own back-bench critics into line, Prime Minister John Major said Thursday that his Conservative government would resign and call a new election if it failed to win a parliamentary vote Monday on payments to the European Union.

The move was intended to overcome a rebellion by so-called Euro-skeptics within the party, those who are fighting to prevent Britain from merging more and more into Europe, as called for by the Treaty on European Union.

The rebels, who have bedeviled Mr. Major for two years now, have seized upon what had looked like a perfunctory vote on Britain's contribution to the EU budget and turned it into a crisis for the government.

The government has countered by turning the vote into a showdown. Earlier this week, Mr. Major said the issue was one of confidence in his government. After consulting with his cabinet,

his office released a statement Thursday saying they would rise or fall together — a proposition labeled by the press as a "suicide pact."

"If the government were defeated, the government would resign and the prime minister would ask the queen to dissolve Parliament," the statement said.

The threat to call an election is a powerful one because the Tories, in power for 15 years, would undoubtedly lose if one were held now. The latest poll, published Thursday in *The Times* of London, shows that a modest recovery for the Conservatives in the autumn has been reversed. The party is now supported by only 24 percent of the 1,833 adults sampled by MORI, Britain's leading polling company. The opposition Labour Party has a 31-point advantage.

In effect, Mr. Major is threatening the Conservative backbenchers that, like Sampson, he can bring the temple smashing down on all their heads. The fact that the cabinet was said to be unanimously behind the move was in-

tended to head off suggestions that if Mr. Major were defeated Monday, he could simply be replaced as party leader and prime minister, avoiding a general election.

Reuters quoted a senior government official as scotching speculation that some right-wing cabinet members were holding out from offering full support to him. "There is no question of the prime minister resigning and an alternative prime minister being found," the official said.

Despite the flurry of excitement at Westminster, few people were willing to predict Thursday that the government would actually fall.

A spokesman for the prime minister predicted Wednesday that the government's bill would go through and added that in two weeks "everyone will wonder what the fuss was about."

Mr. Major has a slender majority of 14 in the 651-member House of Commons. On votes such as this one, he can usually count on the support of the Unionist Party, which has nine

votes. That means that a dozen or so must defect from the two parties, or more if some of those defectors simply abstain.

Still, a leading Euro-skeptic, William Cash, insisted that he was going to propose an amendment that would hold up the budget contribution until the Commons' Public Accounts Committee was satisfied about spending procedure in the European Union. He said that he had about 15 votes from fellow Conservatives to back it.

But Mr. Cash seemed to be opening ground for retreat by saying that he was mainly interested in pressing a campaign for accountability.

"Look, you know and I know that I have to take each stage in turn," he said. "I'm saying that the battle is necessary. But of course I don't want the government to fall and I've made that clear."

New Treasury figures indicate that Britain's net contribution will rise to £3.55 billion (\$5.57 billion) a year by the end of the decade from £2.5 billion a year currently.

WORLD BRIEFS

Corsican Separatists Ready to Talk

AJACCIO, Corsica (Reuters) — The main separatist group fighting for Corsican independence from France said Thursday it was ready to negotiate a compromise with Paris.

The "historical branch" of the National Front for the Liberation of Corsica, or FLNC, said in a letter to Interior Minister Charles Pasqua that it would suspend all attacks against civil servants in mainland France and non-Corsican residents of the Mediterranean island.

But it would continue to fight real estate developers and drug traffickers, it said. The front said it was waiting for a goodwill gesture from Paris that would include freeing jailed Corsican separatists and willingness to consider granting Corsica special overseas-territory status. The front's other branch halted violent actions last year.

Dutch Artist Loses Legs to Car Bomb

AMSTERDAM (Reuters) — Rob Scholte, a leading Dutch contemporary artist, lost his legs Thursday when a grenade in his car exploded in central Amsterdam, the police said.

The device went off just after Mr. Scholte, 36, started the car. The vehicle burst into flames, filling the surrounding streets with smoke. The police said they were baffled by a possible motive for the attack, the latest of several unexplained blasts in major Dutch cities over the past two months.

Minority Parties Jockeying in Nepal

KATMANDU, Nepal (AP) — With no single group getting a majority in Nepal's election, a Communist alliance and the ruling Nepali Congress party both claimed Thursday that they would form the next government.

Man Mohan Adhikari, 72, leader of the Communist alliance, said he had "support from other political groups on the floor of the house," after meeting with King Birendra, the constitutional monarch.

The president of the Nepali Congress, Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, also met with the king and said he could put together a majority with the support of a pro-monarchy group. The National Democratic Party, which has 20 seats, was talking with both larger parties. It said it would announce its intentions Friday.

2 Slain in Rash of Japanese Shootings

TOKYO (AP) — Two more people were killed and one was wounded seriously Thursday as a rash of shootings continued, intensifying worries that illegal handgun ownership is proliferating in Japan.

The police reported four separate shooting incidents Thursday, including one in a hospital in southern Fukuoka prefecture in which six shots were fired into a patient's room. The patient, a leader of an underworld group, was not wounded.

In Osaka, a man was fatally shot in the head in a robbery at a finance company. Also in Osaka, the president of a jewelry company was shot in the chest and seriously wounded near his office. In Tochigi prefecture, north of Tokyo, the police reportedly found the body of a 27-year-old man shot in the face at his home.

For the Record

Clashes between Islamic fundamentalist demonstrators and Palestinian police in Gaza last week left 12 dead, the youngest a 13-year-old boy, according to a Gaza hospital. (AP)

TRAVEL UPDATE

Iberia Ground Staff Calls Stoppages

MADRID (Reuters) — The ground staff of Spain's state airline, Iberia Air Lines of Spain, called work stoppages Thursday in Madrid and Barcelona airports to protest management plans to lay off 5,000 workers and sell assets to avoid bankruptcy.

The Madrid staff agreed at a special assembly that they would paralyze the capital's Barajas airport for two hours on Friday. Barcelona workers called an indefinite assembly for Monday morning, which would amount to a strike.

Iberia's board said Wednesday that the airline would start laying off workers starting on Monday if unions did not accept its restructuring plan, which involves a 15 percent pay cut.

Gambia said the country was safe for tourists and complained bitterly about British government advice to keep away from the West African country due to mounting insecurity. The British Foreign Office advised people on Wednesday not to travel to Gambia and told travel companies to bring tourists home. The country's military ruler overthrew the former president in July. Troops loyal to the military leader crushed a counter-coup attempt on Nov. 1.

Thick fog hampered air traffic in northern Italy and touched off chain collisions on highways. Flights were delayed or rerouted to other airports in Milan, Turin and Venice. (AP)

Territorial officials in Russia have declared a state of emergency in the Primorsky region of the country's Far East, where 43 people have died in a diphtheria epidemic. (AP)

Lauda Air has inaugurated a twice-weekly flight to Singapore from Vienna. It will fly on Thursdays and Saturdays and continue on to Sydney and Melbourne. (AP)

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A Mexican Civil War U.S. to End Among Politicians Asylum for Salinas Is Using Murder Case Salvadoran To Counter Foes of Reforms Refugees

By Tod Robberson
Washington Post Service

MEXICO CITY — President Carlos Salinas de Gortari appears to have declared war on hard-line adversaries within his own party, using the Sept. 28 assassination of a senior party leader as an excuse to root out foes who impeded his reform programs.

Mr. Salinas had unleashed his deputy attorney general, more surprises" like the Ruiz Massieu assassination.

In a combination resignation speech and report Wednesday on a two-month investigation into his brother's killing, the deputy attorney general repeatedly cited the support he had from Mr. Salinas as he leveled accusations at some of the most powerful political figures in the country.

He charged that Attorney General Humberto Benítez Treviño, the party's president, Ignacio Pichardo Pegaza, and the new party secretary-general, María de los Angeles Moreno, conspired to block the assassination inquiry.

Mr. Ruiz Massieu also concluded that his brother was assassinated for political purposes but with financing and support from an international drug cartel.

One question observers have been asking ever since a feud broke out Nov. 14 between Mr. Ruiz Massieu and the governing party leadership was how the deputy attorney general had virtually unrestricted access to the media to make his accusations without any intervention from Mr. Salinas.

Mexican news organizations, particularly television newscasters, typically submit to censorship or indirect government control as a means of maintaining financial support from the presidency.

In Mr. Ruiz Massieu's case, his remarks not only were carried verbatim on television, radio and in newspapers, but he also was offered logistical and financial support by the presidency for his investigation.

According to a report Saturday in the Mexico City daily La Jornada, the public attacks by Mr. Ruiz Massieu amounted to a "settling of old scores" between Mr. Salinas and anti-reform conservatives in his party.

During his six-year presidential term, which ends in less than a week, with the inauguration Dec. 1 of Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, Mr. Salinas has engaged in an almost daily battle against arch-conservatives within his party.

The conservatives have typically viewed Mr. Salinas's wide-ranging program of political and economic reforms as a direct threat to the party's 65-year, unbroken control of the federal bureaucracy.

Many of the conservatives have amassed huge personal fortunes using the Institutional Revolutionary Party's nationwide control over unions and state-owned enterprises to extract bribes and other forms of political tribute.

One foreign analyst said the current turbulence on Mexico's political scene was to be expected given the current tensions caused by Mr. Salinas's reforms. Should Mr. Zedillo continue at the same pace, the analyst said, "I think we can expect

By Roberto Suro
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration is preparing to end a program that offered temporary refugee status to tens of thousands of Salvadorans who fled their homeland during the civil war, obliging them either to return home or face a state of legal limbo.

Although a final decision will not be announced until early December, administration officials said it appeared to them politically impossible to extend the program, given popular demand for a tougher line on immigration issues.

In addition, some officials said they favored the move as a way of demonstrating that the government was capable of terminating temporary refugee programs that often seem to become permanent over time.

They cited special provisions for Jews from the former Soviet Union and for Vietnamese "boat people" as other examples of programs that were designed to be temporary but remained intact.

About 200,000 Salvadorans were first granted "Temporary Protected Status" in 1990 under legislation that allowed them to remain in the United States and work legally, but did not advance them toward permanent residency as immigrants. In one form or another, the program was extended twice by the Bush administration and once more by President Bill Clinton.

When the latest order expires on Dec. 31, the Salvadorans will no longer need protection in the United States, administration officials say, because the political situation in their country has stabilized since a truce in 1992 ended the 10-year civil war.

That view has also been pressed by some powerful Republicans. Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming, who is to become chairman of a Senate immigration subcommittee, has complained about temporary refugee programs that seem to become permanent.

"In El Salvador, they came here because five factions were going in and chopping each other to pieces," Mr. Simpson said in a speech in May on the Senate floor. "And now that is all over. You have democratic elections. Have one of them gone back? Not one."

A half million or more Salvadorans entered the United States, most of them illegally, in the face of widespread human rights abuses by the Salvadoran Army, which was trained and equipped by the United States, and by leftist insurgents. The vast majority were denied political asylum at the time. Subsequent lawsuits revealed that the proceedings had been biased against them.

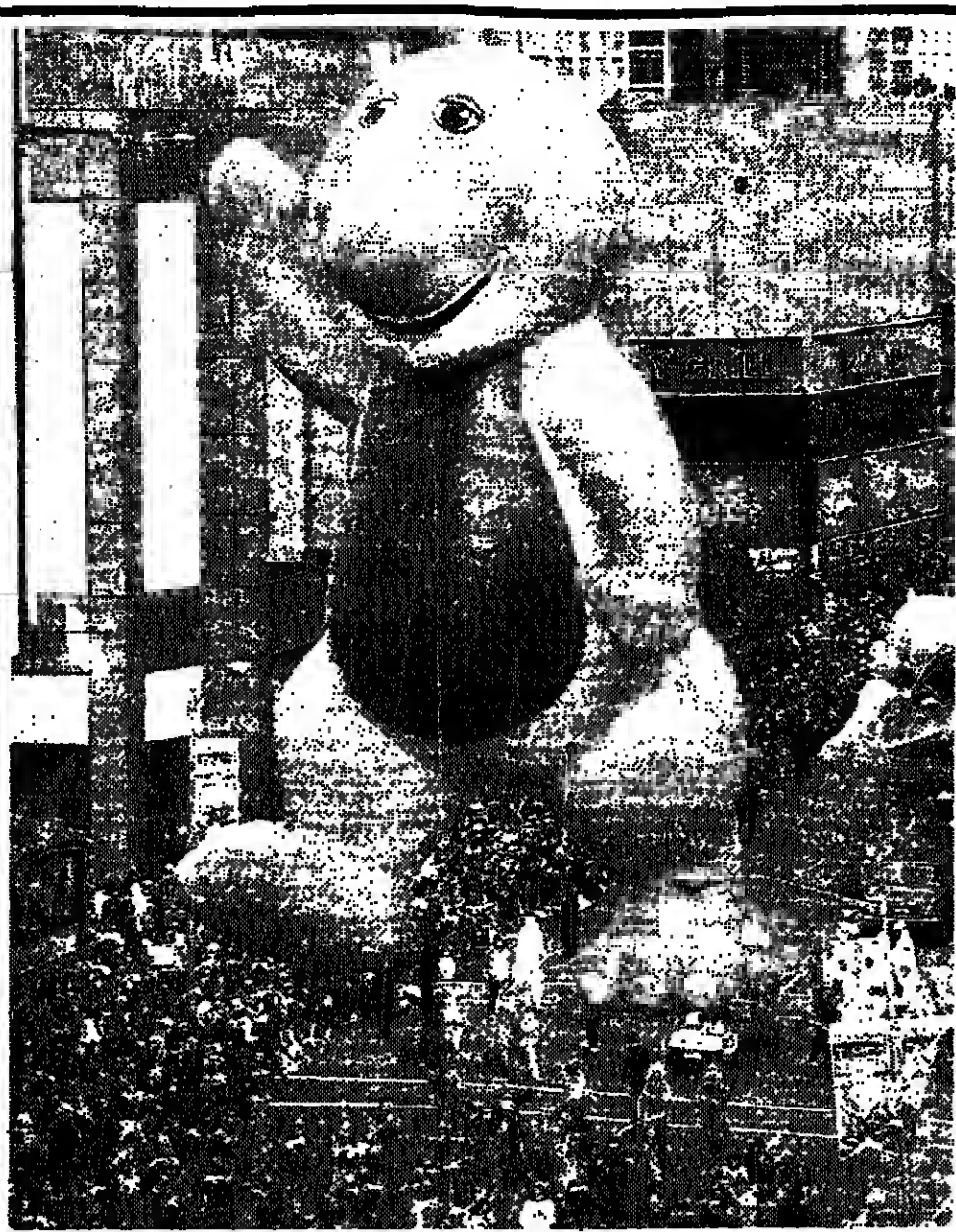
There are no hard estimates of the number of Salvadorans who remain in the United States under temporary status, but they represent a last legacy of the bitterly disputed era of U.S. involvement in Central America.

■ **UN Vote on El Salvador**
The Security Council voted unanimously to extend the mandate of its observer force in El Salvador for a final six months, but said many measures of the country's peace accord remained unfulfilled. The Associated Press reported Thursday from the United Nations in New York.

"The council recognizes that El Salvador has moved far enough down the road to peace and reconciliation to continue without the presence of a United Nations peacekeeping mission," the U.S. delegate, Madeleine K. Albright, said after the vote Wednesday.

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NEW ENTRY — The 68th annual Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade got under way Thursday in New York with the debut of Barney, the purple television character.

Dole Extracts Promise From Helms To Mind His Senatorial Manners

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Bob Dole, the incoming Senate majority leader, says Senator Jesse Helms has assured him that he will avoid the kind of provocative comments that created an uproar when Mr. Helms said President Bill Clinton "better have a bodyguard" if he visits military bases in North Carolina.

Mr. Dole, Republican of Kansas, said in a broadcast interview that he had told Mr. Helms, the North Carolina Republican who is set to take over the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in January, that "we just hoped it wouldn't happen again" and that Mr. Helms agreed.

"In essence, I think we agreed it wouldn't happen again," Mr. Dole said.

■ **Away From Politics**

● **Alarmed by a rash of traffic accidents in New York involving police cars**, Police Commissioner William J. Bratton said he would require police officers to wear seat belts beginning Jan. 1. "I see the use of the seat belt as every bit as important as the use of the bulletproof vest," Mr. Bratton said. "I lose a hell of a lot more cops in injuries to auto accidents and failure to

use seat belts than I do in shooting incidents."

● **A woman already in prison for shooting a Kansas abortion doctor** was arraigned in Portland, Oregon, on charges she set a series of arson fires at abortion clinics across the West. Shelley Shannon of Grants Pass pleaded not guilty. She is accused of setting fires at eight abortion clinics in Oregon, Idaho, Nevada

and northern California in 1992 and 1993.

● **A man who admitted killing Eva Shoen, heiress to the U-Haul business empire**, during a bungled burglary was sentenced in Montrose, Colorado, to 24 years in prison. Frank Marquis had said the August 1990 killing was accidental.

● **Three people were arrested in a fight over rights to the land** where the Branch Davidian compound once stood near Waco, Texas. A woman was

jailed on weapons charges after she fired a gun into the air as three men confronted her on the property. Two of the men, who were armed, also were jailed on weapons charges. The McLennan County sheriff, Jack Harwell, said the shooting was one of several recent disputes at the 77-acre (30-hectare) site.

"This will be an ongoing thing until something is settled about the property rights," he said.

● **An army depot in California shipped plutonium by air via**

Federal Express in violation of federal rules, the Energy Department says. Less than a pound of the highly radioactive element used in nuclear weapons arrived Nov. 7 at the Los Alamos (New Mexico) National Laboratory for disposal, the department said in a report. The army confirmed that it had erroneously shipped the plutonium by air Nov. 4, "because of a human error in marking the shipping instructions for the carrier."

NTT, AP

Quote/Unquote

Paul Begala, a Clinton aide, on reports that some Democrats do not want Mr. Clinton to head the ticket in 1996: "They're just flat out wrong. This party's got a whole lot of problems, but our president is our greatest strength."

(WP)

Republicans Control California Assembly

SACRAMENTO, California — With fewer than 23,000 absentee ballots to be tallied, Republicans have emerged as winners of 41 California Assembly seats, spelling the end of a 25-year reign of Democrats in the lower house, election officials reported.

The late absentee count showed, however, that Democrats did manage to retain an edge in the California congressional delegation by a 27-25 seat margin, as Representative Jane Harman of Rolling Hills, a Democrat, eked out a victory by fewer than 800 votes over her Republican challenger, Susan Brooks. A spokesman for the state secretary of state said no results from the Nov. 8 election would change, although some ballots continued to be counted in some counties.

"It's done as far as we're concerned," the spokesman said. More than 8.8 million people cast votes statewide in the Nov. 8 election. Turnout was 60.1 percent, the highest there for a nonpresidential election since 1982.

(LAT)

Erick Hawkins Dies, U.S. Dance Pioneer

By Anna Kisselgoff
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Erick Hawkins, 85, a major figure in American modern dance whose flowing dance idiom and harmonious works celebrated the human body and nature rather than the tensions of contemporary life, died of prostate cancer here Wednesday.

Mr. Hawkins's credo was "Tight muscles don't feel." Until a decade ago, his own dancing exemplified his ideal. Physically fit, with striking, craggy features, he soared with seemingly no effort into the melting leaps that were his trademark.

Firm in his belief that dancers courted injury through what he perceived as the artificiality of ballet technique and the pervasiveness of earlier modern dance idioms, Mr. Hawkins arrived at a system of "self-sensing" in training dancers.

Typical Hawkins dances, including "Plains Daybreak," generally considered a masterpiece, were free of negative expression. A student of Zen, Mr. Hawkins declared that an artist should be a priest who brings the audience to enlightenment.

Other acclaimed works included "Eight Clear Places," "Black Lake," "Lords of Persia," "Cantilever Two," "Geography of Noon" and "New Moon." Much of his repertoire had highly original and vibrant scores by his wife, Lucia Dikozewski, a composer who collaborated with him from 1952.

Many of his dances had a sensibility derived from Asian theater or American Indian rituals. He also drew from Greek myth or American folklore and created many plotless works.

Erick Hawkins, whose full name was Frederick Hawkins, was born in Trinidad, Colorado, on April 23, 1909.

He decided to become a dancer after seeing a New York concert in the 1920s by Harald Kreutzberg and Yvonne Georgi, the German modern

dancers. He was then a student at Harvard College.

When Chasler Post, one of his professors at Harvard, criticized the borrowing of architectural styles from Europe and the past, Mr. Hawkins found a concept that he applied later to his cardinal belief that American dance should come out of the American experience.

He moved to New York in 1934 and went to the School of American Ballet, founded that year by George Balanchine and Lincoln Kirstein. He danced from 1935 to 1937 in the American Ballet, the first Balanchine-Kirstein company.

After the collapse of that company, Mr. Kirstein started another, Ballet Caravan, which emphasized American themes. It was for that troupe that Mr. Hawkins choreographed his first ballet in 1937: "Show Piece," with a commissioned score by Robert McBride.

The Bennington School of the Dance at Bennington College in Vermont had provided a residency for Ballet Caravan, and it was there that Mr. Hawkins met Martha Graham. He remained with Ballet Caravan until 1938, when Miss Graham invited him to appear as a guest in her major production, "American Document."

Mr. Hawkins became the Graham company's first male dancer, joining officially in 1939. The personal relationship that he and Miss Graham developed was well known in the dance world, although they were married only in 1948.

The marriage eventually succumbed to the strains of competing artistic egos. Mr. Hawkins left the Graham company in 1951 to work independently, and they were divorced in 1954.

In 1957, Mr. Hawkins formed the Erick Hawkins Dance Company, an outgrowth of a group with which he worked since 1951.

Mr. Hawkins received the Medal of Arts from President Bill Clinton at the White House on Oct. 14.

Monday

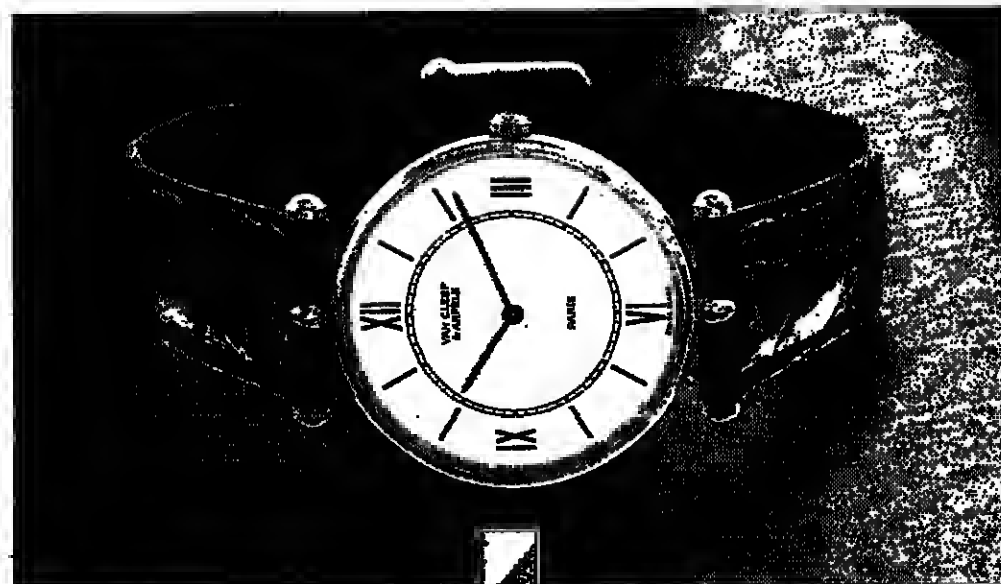
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Tapie Empire Awaits A Key Ruling by Commercial Court

PARIS — Bernard Tapie, the flamboyant French businessman and maverick politician, who was defeated in a courtroom bid this week to keep his bankers off his back, faces a crucial court ruling on Friday. A commercial court will rule on the financial health of the remains of his industrial empire, which Crédit Lyonnais says owes it more than 1.2 billion francs (\$225 million). If the court rules that the holding company for Mr. Tapie's personal wealth and the management company Alain Colas Tahiti are in "cessation of payments," then it could order them to be placed in receivership.

In that case, Mr. Tapie would be technically bankrupt. That would bar him from sitting as a member of the French and European parliaments and dash his ambitions to run for mayor of Marseille next year. Mr. Tapie suffered another setback on Thursday when a court ordered payment of 66.7 million francs in taxes and fines because he had fraudulently registered his luxury four-masted yacht, the Phocée, as a commercial vessel. Mr. Tapie immediately appealed against the ruling, which applied to himself, the yacht's

management company, Alain Colas Tahiti, and two of its former bosses. But despite that and Wednesday's rejection of his plea that the French bank Crédit Lyonnais had illegally torn up a five-year debt repayment deal, Mr. Tapie remained characteristically upbeat. In an interview with the daily Libération, Mr. Tapie insisted that a plan by the state-owned bank to auction his 17th-century Paris mansion would not go ahead. "The sale of the mansion will not take place," he said. "That's not a prediction, it's a certainty."

Mr. Tapie, whose center-left Radical Party won 12 percent of the French vote in the European Parliament elections in June, hinted this week that he might run for president next April. Not unaccustomed to complex legal wrangling, Mr. Tapie is fighting back with a host of countersuits and appeals, virtually ensuring a lengthy delay before any conclusion. He will appeal against the ruling on the debt repayment deal, thus suspending an order for him to pay Crédit Lyonnais some 338 million francs until an appeals court gives its ruling.

SPEAKER: Gingrich's 'Family Values' Belie Reality of His Own Life

Continued from Page 1
reer. He practically boasts of having grown up as an army brat, a rootless existence that started near Hanau, Germany and included stints in France, Germany and Fort Benning, Georgia. Today he counts two generals — Dwight D. Eisenhower and George Marshall — among his top three heroes (Franklin D. Roosevelt is the third). He often points to a visit in 1958, when he was 15, with his adoptive father to Verdun, the World War I battlefield, and its warehouse collection of bones, as the seminal moment in his political coming of age. "It is the driving force which pushed me into history and politics, and molded my life," he wrote in his 1984 political manifesto, "Window of Opportunity."



As House speaker, Mr. Gingrich will be next in line of succession for the presidency after the vice president.

The next day, he supposedly told his family he would run for Congress because politicians could prevent such madness. The sense that he might save civilization seems to drive him still. "People like me," he said last year, "are what stand between us and Auschwitz." Despite his interest in the military, Mr. Gingrich opted out of the service himself, taking student and marriage deferments during the Vietnam War. Although he was opposed to war, he was not vocal about it. But he was something of a liberal. As a graduate student in history at Tulane University, he led a protest against the school administration for trying to censor pictures of nudes from the student newspaper. He also helped to coordinate Nelson A. Rockefeller's 1968 presidential campaign in Louisiana.

As a young history teacher with a Ph.D. at West Georgia College in Carrollton, Georgia, he started a program in environmental studies and taught a course about the future. But after he lost two races for the House, in 1974 and 1976, he determined that he could get elected only by moving further right. Many who knew him in that period attribute his adoption of a conservative agenda and his exploitation of "family values" to his political ambition, not to a belief, at least at that time, in core conservative values. "When I first knew him in

the '70s, when I was on the Atlanta Constitution's liberal editorial board, and we were looking for a liberal to get behind, we chose to endorse Newt Gingrich because we thought he was progressive and thought he was, to use the terrible L word, liberal," said Bill Shipp, who now writes a newsletter on Georgia politics. "Why did he switch?" Mr. Shipp said. "Public opinion polls, what do you think? Liberal went out, conservative came in." Richard Dangle, who was dean of arts and sciences at West Georgia when Mr. Gingrich taught there, said that as a "middle-of-the-road Democrat" he had supported Mr. Gingrich because he was "bright, young, reasonable and rational." Then, Mr. Gingrich moved to the right. "He said he had grown," Mr. Dangle said. "I think his motivation was ambition and the need for power."

When Mr. Gingrich finally won an open congressional seat in 1978, he ran a brutal campaign against his Democratic opponent, state Senator Virginia Shepard, who he said did not have "family values." If elected, Mrs. Shepard intended to commute between Washington and Georgia and

leave her children in the care of a nanny. Mr. Gingrich ran a television commercial accusing her of breaking up her family. Mr. Gingrich won, but it was his family that broke up. His divorce from his first wife, Jackie, has become part of the Gingrich lore and has been routinely resurrected by political opponents. Jackie Gingrich followed her husband to Tulane and back in Georgia, worked doggedly on his campaigns. After his election in 1978, they moved to Washington, but separated shortly thereafter. By the end of his first term, he had filed for divorce. His wife, who had started treatments for uterine cancer in 1978, underwent surgery in 1980. A day after the operation, Mr. Gingrich went to the hospital. Since they had already separated, he called Jackie's room to see if he could come up. Once there, according to friends who knew them both, he began talking about the terms of the divorce. She has said that she threw him out of the room. In a few months they were divorced, and in 1981 he married his current wife, Marianne. Jackie Gingrich, who still teaches high school math,

declined to be interviewed for this article. A few weeks before Mr. Gingrich filed for divorce, he called his political aide and friend Kip Carter to talk about his marriage. Mr. Carter said he and other friends had been worried that the marriage was falling apart. Mr. Gingrich told him why he wanted a divorce. "He said: 'She's not young enough or pretty enough to be the wife of a president. And besides, she has cancer.' It sounds harsh and hokey," Mr. Carter said, "but anyone who knows him knows it's perfectly consistent with the kinds of things he says." Mr. Gingrich has adamantly denied saying any such thing. His supporters dismiss Mr. Carter as a disgruntled former aide who was miffed at not having been asked to accompany Mr. Gingrich when he moved to Washington. Mr. Gingrich was supposed to pay \$150 a month for each of his daughters and \$400 in alimony to his former wife. But a few months later, Jackie Gingrich filed court papers saying that he had not provided reasonable support for her living expenses and that some of her accounts were "two or three months past due." Some of her friends took up a collection on her behalf. The court raised the child support to \$200 a month per daughter and \$1,000 in alimony. In an 1984 article in Mother Jones magazine, Mr. Gingrich was asked whether his private life had been consistent with what he said in public. "No," Mr. Gingrich was quoted as saying. "In fact I think they were sufficiently inconsistent that at one point in 1979 and 1980, I began to quit saying them in public. One of the reasons I ended up getting a divorce was that if I was disintegrating enough as a person that I could not say those things, then I needed to get my life straight, not quit saying them." "And I think that literally was the crisis I came to. I guess I look back on it a little bit like somebody who's in Alcoholics Anonymous. It was a very, very bad period of my life, and it had been getting steadily worse. I ultimately wound up at a point where probably suicide or going insane or divorce were the last three options."

Kazakh Uranium Had Few Safeguards, U.S. Experts Found

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — When 27 U.S. nuclear technicians landed six weeks ago in Ust-Kamenogorsk, Kazakhstan, they saw that a large cache of bomb-grade uranium there had been stored without any of the high-tech safeguards commonplace at American facilities, according to U.S. officials. A long warehouse containing enough uranium to be used in 20 to 25 nuclear weapons was situated in the middle of a sprawling nuclear and metallurgical factory employing more than 14,000 people. But no chemical assays or radiation sensors were used to account for or safeguard the material. Instead, its presence or absence was simply noted by hand in record books. "The whole system was run by paper," said Alex Riedy, a nuclear engineer with Martin Marietta Energy Systems, a contractor to the Department of Energy. Mr. Riedy helped direct a successful U.S. effort to repack the uranium over the last six weeks so it could be shipped out of Kazakhstan to thwart its potential theft by nuclear terrorists or other nations. Secretary of Defense William J. Perry on Wednesday hailed the secret operation as "a success story in counterproliferation." A total of 600 kilograms (1,320 pounds) of highly enriched uranium, originally produced in the Soviet Union, were shipped from Kazakhstan to Dover Air Force Base in Delaware in two C-5 military cargo planes last weekend and then shipped by truck to Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee. Mr. Perry said at a press conference that the United States had "put this bomb-grade nu-

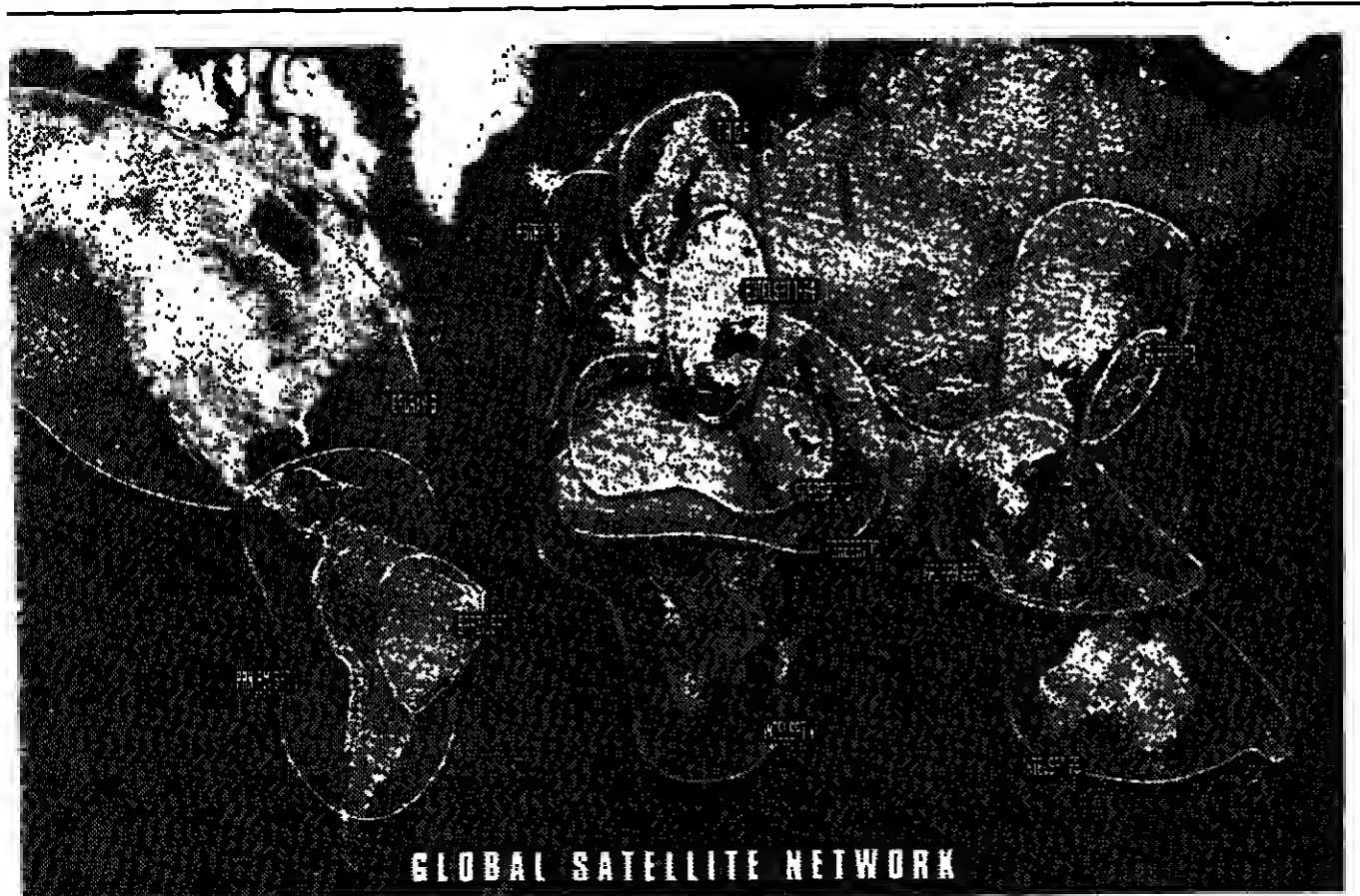
clear material forever out of the reach of potential black-market dealers, terrorists, or new nuclear regimes." He and other officials did not say which nations Washington had feared would obtain the material. But a senior defense official said the suspect countries were situated near Kazakhstan and that "there are people really shopping for this kind of material." To help repack the nuclear material into 1,400 shipping containers the size of oil cans, Mr. Riedy said he and his colleagues had to set up their own chemical assay laboratory in a large, unheated room at the Ulba Metallurgical Plant. They also had to bring in their own electrical power supply, satellite communications, maintenance depot, and an ample supply of equipment suited to cold-weather operations at the snow, windswept site near Ust-Kamenogorsk. But Kazakh officials "went over backward to help us," Mr. Riedy said. Officials involved in the operation said it went more smoothly inside Kazakhstan than it did outside the country. They said, for example, that the Pentagon had difficulty winning overflight rights from various countries for the C-5s, which had been declared to be carrying hazardous cargoes. Tennessee authorities also initially opposed the idea of storing it at Oak Ridge, and Secretary of Energy Hazel R. O'Leary sought Wednesday to ease public concern in Tennessee by pointing out that the material is not nuclear waste, but "nonirradiated material." Mrs. O'Leary said the shipment amounted to only a fraction of the uranium Oak Ridge now has or is capable of storing safely.

BOSNIA: Serbs Tightening Siege

Continued from Page 1

Bosnia, Lieutenant General Michael Rose, and the British and French governments are worried by the American proposal and UN officials here are scrambling to try to secure a cease-fire that would avert the need for more NATO action. General Rose went to Pale on Thursday for talks with Bosnian Serb leaders, despite the fact that Bosnian Serb forces are in effect holding more than 200 UN peacekeepers hostage in retaliation for NATO bombing this week of an air base in Serbian-held Croatia and Bosnian Serb surface-to-air missile systems northeast of Bihać. The talks were aimed at exploring Bosnian Serb proposals for a demilitarization of the Bihać pocket and a cease-

fire there. UN officials said. They declined to give further details. The possibilities of a cease-fire in Bihać seemed remote. Although UN officials said Mr. Silajdzic initially expressed interest in the idea Thursday during a meeting with General Rose, the Bosnian prime minister later dismissed the Bosnian Serb offer as a camouflage. "This was obviously an instrument to try to calm down the situation internationally so that the Serbs could advance more," Mr. Silajdzic said. For the Bosnian government, the dilemma of a cease-fire and demilitarization is that it would shift the balance of power in western Bosnia, just as the balance of power was shifted in eastern Bosnia.



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DEBT: China's Credit Questioned

Continued from Page 1

huge stakes in projects in China, both personally and through his conglomerates Cheung Kong (Holdings) Ltd. and Hutchison Whampoa Ltd., is voicing his concern. Mr. Li's rags-to-riches story shows he is not averse to risk-taking, but China's increasingly complex taxation system, red tape and frequent policy changes have prompted him to call upon Beijing to set up an independent business arbitration system to settle disputes between foreign investors and Chinese authorities. Unclear lines of authority in China's sprawling state industrial sector and a maddeningly opaque relationship between Beijing, provincial governments and the executives running individual businesses have confounded many foreign businesses burying to strike deals in a fast-opening China. At the same time, a vacuum of corporate discipline after the retreat of the state from hands-on management and the relative immaturity of China's own commercial legal system has fostered what some observers describe as a cavalier approach to contract law. "It's an exaggeration to say, as some do, that the negotiating only begins after you've signed the contract in China," said Edward Epstein, a university lecturer in Chinese law and a law-

yer with Fred Kan & Company in Hong Kong. "The phenomenon is not uniquely Chinese, but perhaps it happens more there now because they don't have the Western legal culture that makes people see the benefits of abiding by contract," Mr. Epstein said. "Nor do they have the same kind of infrastructure for enforcing agreements." China's huge need for international capital and its decision to open more of its economy to the foreign investment has attracted swarms of hush-hush would-be dealmakers. But recent difficulties in managing its fast-growing economy and well-warranted caution in meeting foreign investors on clear and equal terms have slowed the rush in such key areas as project financing and bond issuance for infrastructure projects. Lehman Brothers alleges that China International United Petroleum & Chemicals Company, or Unipac, and Minmetals International Non-Ferrous Metals Trading Export Company separately reneged on debts incurred in foreign exchange transactions. "Regardless of the settlement of this case, it's a very good reminder for everyone that China is no different than anywhere else," Peter Geldart, head of Salomon Brothers Asia-Pacific power financing group, said.

shed his ownership of his business empire, which gave rise to questions about conflict of interest, and the fact that he accumulated his riches in the same corrupt era as the thousands of other businessmen and politicians who have since been implicated in Italy's huge scandals. But the crisis has widened as Mr. Berlusconi and his supporters have cast the magistrates' inquiries into his doings as a political vendetta conducted against the state itself. When he was told he was under investigation — on the same day he was playing host to a major United Nations conference in Naples — Mr. Berlusconi's broadcast portrayed the magistrates' move as an assault on the office he occupies rather than on himself personally. "There is an imbalance of power in Italy, and we have to re-establish the equilibrium," said Justice Minister Alfredo Biondi in an interview. "Separation of powers is fundamental to a democratic state, and the magistrates are not en-

cause of his opposition to Reaganomics. His situation was made no easier when Mr. Helms asked the president to delay action on the pact until the new Congress convenes in January. So Mr. Dole decided, according to a friend who discussed the matter with him, that he needed to achieve at least some modification of the accord. He seized on the enforcement powers granted to the new World Trade Organization, which conservatives have attacked as a threat to U.S. sovereignty. By persuading Mr. Clinton to set up a mechanism for U.S. withdrawal if the new trade organization finds repeatedly against the United States, he tipped his hat to his party's right wing while maintaining the commitment to free trade. At the same time, he backed away from his bid to force the White House to back a cut in the capital gains tax in return for his support for GATT. Mr. Clinton rejected any such link, as Mr. Dole must have known he would. But the point had nonetheless been made: Bob Dole cares about tax cuts as much as anyone. Had he insisted on so transparently political a deal, covering two measures with very little intrinsic relationship to each other, Mr. Dole would have been flouting the very message that the voters delivered most clamorously on Nov. 8. They said that vintage Washington politics was out good enough anymore. Such calculations will be made hundreds of times in the months ahead. But already many of the Republicans in Congress seem to have recognized, far quicker than most had expected, one of the constraints of the new reality: They share the power now, but also the responsibility.

ITALY: Berlusconi's War With Foes, and Allies, Gives New Depth to Crisis

Continued from Page 1

are on the verge of a major political clash in the country." And, most of all, the conflict that has emerged since the elections last March transformed Mr. Berlusconi from a billionaire businessman into a political leader is not the old and often cozy arrangement between left and right. It is a remarkable, open and unique institutional war between the country's magistrates and Mr. Berlusconi. "I have never corrupted anybody," Mr. Berlusconi, the Italian flag at his shoulder, said during a television address, in which he rejected pressure to resign over the investigation. At the most obvious level, the issue that has sparked Italy's latest crisis is this: Did Mr. Berlusconi, as head of his \$7-billion-a-year Fininvest business empire, participate in the bribery of the country's finance policemen to assure favorable audits — an accusation he denies — or, was his vast business empire a victim of extortion by

corrupt tax officers, as he says it was? Judicial officials said Thursday that Mr. Berlusconi allegedly put pressure on board members of the state television group RAI in a bid to reach an advertising agreement with his Fininvest television group, which owns three nationwide television stations. But the nub, for many Italians, relates far more to the entire character of the nation's future: Will Italy make its much-vaunted symbolic passage from a corrupt First Republic to a new Second Republic in the purging, probably destructive, revolutionary fires of the investigators' inquiries? Or will it draw some kind of line in the sand, declare that enough is enough, and allow the land, and Mr. Berlusconi, to go forward with its familiar aura of unsolved mystery and incomplete disclosure? The imbroglio has been evolving ever since Mr. Berlusconi took office with two time bombs ticking beneath him: his refusal, until Wednesday, to

shed his ownership of his business empire, which gave rise to questions about conflict of interest, and the fact that he accumulated his riches in the same corrupt era as the thousands of other businessmen and politicians who have since been implicated in Italy's huge scandals. But the crisis has widened as Mr. Berlusconi and his supporters have cast the magistrates' inquiries into his doings as a political vendetta conducted against the state itself. When he was told he was under investigation — on the same day he was playing host to a major United Nations conference in Naples — Mr. Berlusconi's broadcast portrayed the magistrates' move as an assault on the office he occupies rather than on himself personally. "There is an imbalance of power in Italy, and we have to re-establish the equilibrium," said Justice Minister Alfredo Biondi in an interview. "Separation of powers is fundamental to a democratic state, and the magistrates are not en-

titled to the same powers as the government," Mr. Biondi said. That, in turn, raises the question of what, exactly, the Milan investigators are up to. Twice, when Mr. Berlusconi has appeared before international audiences — at G-7 economic summit talks with President Bill Clinton and others in July, and at the UN conference on organized crime this week — the investigators have chosen those specific moments to move against him. The magistrates, though, insist they are simply doing a rather tricky job. "We could have waited until the budget was approved," said Gerardo D'Ambrosio, the deputy head of the Milan team, discussing the timing of the investigation of Mr. Berlusconi. "We thought about the Naples summit. Yes, waiting for a less delicate moment could have been an idea." "But then we said to ourselves, Look, prime ministers are always busy, there are always delicate moments," he said. "And so we decided."

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A policeman carrying an injured woman to an ambulance after the Nagpur stampede.

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but holding off on actually disbanding the party until mid-1995. But that option leaves few party members happy.

Perhaps the most striking as-

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A Good Deal on Trade

President Bill Clinton and Senator Bob Dole have struck a deal on the trade bill that is a credit to both of them. When President Clinton inherited the world trade negotiations begun by President Ronald Reagan and continued by President George Bush, he turned away from the protectionists in his own party and, a year ago, pushed those negotiations to a conclusion that will serve the United States well. The trade bill embodies that agreement. Mr. Dole has now secured the Clinton administration's assurances on several points that worried him and is throwing his very substantial weight behind the bill.

To judge the value of the trade bill to the United States, keep in mind that it triggers a worldwide agreement that mainly benefits exporters, and that the United States is the world's biggest exporter. The country is one of many, rich and poor alike, that are counting on increased exports to raise their people's standards of living.

Much of the debate has been revolving around the (erroneous) claim that the trade agreement will diminish American sovereignty. That claim has been argued in almost exactly the same terms that an earlier generation of isolationists, almost half a century ago, employed to warn that joining the United Nations would diminish American sovereignty. In the present case, the president and Senator Dole have agreed to set up a commission of American judges to monitor the new World Trade Organization's system of settling disputes. If the WTO dispute panels exceed their legal authority, as the opponents say they fear, the monitors will blow their whistle and, if it happens three times in five years, any member of Congress can in-

roduce legislation to pull the United States out of the organization. Fair enough. That is pretty unlikely. Another point in the administration's deal with Mr. Dole affects the Washington Post Company has an interest. The administration has agreed to review the price and, if it is unfairly low as some competitors charge, to support legislation raising it. That price has already been raised hugely but, again, fair enough. As we have said before, we supported this bill long before the license provision was stuck into it, and we continue to support it regardless of the outcome of this issue.

Mr. Dole wisely dropped his attempt to link his support for the trade bill with administration backing for a capital gains tax. On that one, the administration simply said, correctly, that the two issues are unrelated.

When Congress votes next week on this bill, its decision will reach well beyond trade and economics. As the debate has developed in recent weeks, it has swung back to that old American question, whether to pursue national responsibilities throughout the world or to retreat within the borders of the United States. A vote for this bill will be a vote for active international leadership by America, and not in trade alone.

This deal between Mr. Clinton and Mr. Dole greatly improves the prospect for passage. As Mr. Dole said, "There should be a big, big vote — not a narrow vote, but a big margin, a bipartisan margin as we've always had when it came to votes on trade."

— THE WASHINGTON POST

Russia's Nuclear Gamble

For more than three decades, we now learn, Russia and the former Soviet Union have secretly pumped huge amounts of radioactive waste into the earth. The goal was to sequester the lethal wastes far from possible contact with humans. But already there are signs that some wastes are seeping beyond the original confines.

Nobody knows whether an environmental catastrophe is in the making — or whether the Russians have found a waste disposal solution which, in their own context at least, is better than previously tried alternatives.

This is a vast environmental experiment whose consequences may not be known for decades or even centuries.

The underground injection program was first vaguely described by Russian scientists at a symposium in May. It has been brought to wider public attention by William J. Broad of New York Times (11/20/94).

The program was begun after surface storage of the wastes had met with devastating setbacks, including the explosion of one waste disposal facility and leaks from waste reservoirs and ponds. So the Russians turned to underground storage at three widely dispersed sites. They drilled injection wells and

pumped the wastes at high pressure into porous sandstone layers, surrounded at least in part by layers of shale and clay that impede migration. Observation wells were also drilled, to help monitor any movement of radioactivity through underground waters.

But there are some signs of trouble already. Last year an environmental group charged that major faults in the ground at one site had allowed radioactive materials to move up toward surface waters. And Russian scientists reported in May that wastes injected at one site penetrated through fractures in a thin limestone layer.

All three sites are near major rivers that could spread the contamination. The greatest danger, all experts agree, is to the surrounding region in Russia itself. The rivers could also carry some radioactivity to the Arctic Ocean and beyond, but it would probably be too diluted to pose much hazard.

With so much waste buried irrevocably, the task now is to monitor it — to get early warning of any impending catastrophe or, if things go well, derive lessons that might help the United States' own more cautious but stalled waste program.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

Denigrating the Poor

The poor, particularly at election time in America, are routinely denigrated for political gain. Their exploitation in this way has brought us to a cruel place in the political landscape, a place where Americans — conservative, moderate and liberal — are finding it frighteningly easy to blame the poor for their own fate, even though that means condemning millions of children to poverty, hunger and hopelessness.

Given the savagery of the climate, it is useful to note what the Roman Catholic Church is saying in response.

The church, through its efforts to feed and house America's poor, is intimately familiar with the problem of poverty. Of late, its most compelling voice has been that of the archbishop of New York, Cardinal John O'Connor, who last month lashed out at politicians who caricature the poor for political benefit. His observations last month in his column, published in the newspaper Catholic New York, merit extensive quotation:

"Cuts in serving the poor are the cuts most vehemently demanded and most popularly accepted because the poor have been so grossly caricatured, easy to blame, easy to hate."

He continued: "The poor are poor because they want to be poor, because they don't want to work... such are the clichés by which the poor can starve to death... Will we be proud of ourselves to know that we have saved mon-

ey on the bellies of the starving? Will we ease our consciences by asking with Scrooge, 'Are there no prisons? Are there no workhouses?'"

About the cruel stereotyping of the poor, the cardinal said: "It is increasingly rare for many of us... to believe that people can be poor but honest, poor but deserving of respect. Poverty is no longer blamed on anyone but the poor themselves. Contempt for the poor has become a virtue."

These views were underscored last week at the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, meeting in Washington. Its president, Archbishop William Keeler of Baltimore, warned against "punitive welfare provisions" that would destroy fragile families and bury children deeper in poverty.

He said the bishops' opposition to such cruelty was not partisan, but based on the church's teachings about "the dignity of life." He put the church squarely on the side of the vulnerable.

By all means, reform the welfare system, and the cycle of dependency, put able-bodied people to work. But politicians also need to remember that the country has a moral obligation to feed and protect those who cannot feed and protect themselves. Even trying, we fall short of that mark. If we cease to try at all, we inflict needless human suffering, and become less of a society as we do.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

On Bosnia, Futile Policy Can Send Only Futile Messages

By William Pfaff

an reprisals against those troops or against the humanitarian aid agencies.

After the lessons learned from a policy of "sending messages" to the enemy in Vietnam — limited bombing operations meant to modify enemy conduct through the threat of escalating violence to follow — one might have thought that the very expression would have been banned from the military vocabulary.

Those messages never had the intended effect, except when compliance suited the

The helper becomes complicit in the crimes behind the crisis.

strategy of the Vietnamese Communists. They, like the Bosnian and Krajina Serbs today, had a fixed strategy and flexible tactics, and fundamental contempt for an opponent (in Bosnia, the United Nations) confused by their way of making war and without the stomach to fight it their way.

The actual message to the Serbs of Monday's attack was "Don't take this seriously." The message of Wednesday's raids on missile sites was "Shoot at others but not at NATO." The intended message to Western publics was: "See how strong yet controlled NATO and the United Nations can be; something is being done about Bosnia. Sarajevo and the war. A few more months and the peace process will work..."

The signal to the Bosnian government, which still seems to harbor illusions about the possibility of a significant American intervention on Bosnia's behalf, should have been read as "Forget the West."

All of this follows from the conflicting European and American attitudes toward the war, and from the contrary policies thereby produced. Europe's primary policy objective — essentially that of France and Britain, the principal contributors to the UN force — has been protection of UN soldiers and aid workers. The European governments may differ on how belligerent NATO should be in defending the UN force, but they agree that it is their priority.

This obviously is not how the Europeans sent soldiers were moved by the honorable ambition, largely achieved, to do some good for the victims of the war, and by the hope, which has been thwarted, of broker-

ing a settlement. America's policy now is to distance itself from European policy, so as to avoid the opprobrium of complicity in nonaction to help the victims of aggression. But Washington does not itself intend to do anything for those victims that would involve any significant cost to the United States, or that would upset an American public opinion which, in this month's midterm elections, confirmed its reluctance to see American forces intervene abroad.

The new Republican leaders of Congress were lions of righteousness when in opposition, attacking the Clinton administration for failing to save Bosnia. The draft

proposals for U.S. help to Bosnia that Congress ostentatiously demanded be delivered by the Clinton administration to Congress this month now, having been delivered, find no response from those who would have to vote for them.

Representative Newt Gingrich, expected to become leader of the House of Representatives, says of the plans for arming and training the Bosnian army: "Frankly, I can't imagine why we would go in and provide that kind of money. Bosnia is largely a European problem."

Humanitarian intervention has been Europe's substitute for a political and strategic policy directed toward punishing aggression and defending the rule of international law. This now has to be acknowledged an enormous error, with grievous consequences for the people of Yugoslavia, and paralyzing ones for the Europeans — and for the Western alliance.

The Europeans, by substituting humanitarian aid for political policy, put themselves in the power of the aggressors, and now must rationalize a situation in which they can be accused of a form of objective collaboration with aggression. No one likes to say this, but it is true.

It is imperative to recognize that an inherent danger in all humanitarian operations of this kind is that the one who helps becomes complicit in the crimes that provoked the crisis. This is as true in Rwanda and Zaire as in Bosnia. The mistake should not be made again.

International Herald Tribune
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Trans-Atlantic Suspicion and Bickering in the Bosnia Policy Void

By Flora Lewis

PARIS — The renewed crisis in Bosnia, openly pitting Bosnian Serbs against the United Nations, will doubtless provoke another NATO attack, providing the appearance of at least a temporary agreement among the allies. But there is no sign that underlying issues which divide them are being resolved.

French Foreign Minister Alain Juppé has defined his country's quarrel with the United States over Bosnia as whether to stop the war by insisting on negotiations or to renounce intervention and let the belligerents fight it out as best they can.

It is a way of saying that France, along with Russia and to a lesser extent Britain and Germany in the five-state Contact Group that includes the United States, is responsibly pursuing the search for peace. The Americans, in this view, have decided to support Bosnia, but not at the risk of a single American life.

The United States, on the other hand, is suggesting that the Europeans are irresponsibly helping to keep the war going by refusing decisive action and professing neutrality tempered by humanitarian concerns.

The strains are becoming serious, reviving the atmosphere of angry suspicion between Paris and Washington that only eased recently. They provoke dark conspiracy theories which undermine NATO, just when the alliance is worrying about its loss of credibility in the first combat duty it has ever faced.

It is generally accepted that the only hope of finding an acceptable settlement to the war is for the five outside powers to stick together on a clear line that cannot be successfully challenged. The trouble is that none of them has a clear line, so they impug each other.

For most of this year, French officials have been insidiously though never quite openly accusing the United States of secretly supplying arms to the Bosnians.

by parachute, of providing military trainers and aerial and satellite intelligence, even a sea-borne command post linked to the Bosnian command.

Confronted by U.S. military officials, the French military say they have no proof but "indications" which they believe, U.S. officials, from President Bill Clinton on down, have denied the charges that the United States has deliberately broken the military embargo, which would be in violation not only of UN resolutions and NATO agreements but probably also of U.S. law.

Even after issuing the congressional mandated order against enforcing the embargo with U.S. units, Mr. Clinton said the United States was not defying it. The media on both sides have been curiously passive, making no energetic effort to verify or disprove the accusation.

Meanwhile, it is souring relations between the French and American military, who stayed on good terms throughout the previous period of political attack and counterattack. A U.S. source has said sadly that the French military think senior Americans whom they would like to believe are lying to them.

This is not the classical game in Balkan conflicts of outside powers pursuing their conflicting interests by trying to manipulate Balkan proxies. On the contrary, their prime common interest is to end the war and get a solution.

But layers of tangling circumstance have piled up, obscuring the common interest. U.S. refusal to get directly involved drove the dithering, embarrassed Europeans to look to the United Nations for intervention, which meant accepting UN constraint on when to take retaliatory or punitive action. There are now some 23,000 UN "peacekeepers" in former Yugoslavia, nearly half of them French and British. In

the U.S. view, they have become hostages rather than protectors. In the European view, the United States is prepared to be feisty at the risk of others' lives.

NATO is working now on contingency plans for the evacuation of endangered UN forces. The United States, whose help would be essential to avoid disaster, has agreed to provide it. But members are quarreling about who would command the operation, a reversal to past polemics likely to get worse when the newly elected U.S. Congress wades in.

Senator Jesse Helms, expected chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, regularly thunders his opposition to the United Nations, to peacekeeping and to putting any U.S. troops under foreign command.

Meanwhile, vested interests have arisen in the course of the war which add to the complications. An example was the aftermath of the seizure in Zagreb of a planeload of arms from Iran destined for Bosnian Muslims.

Croatian officials are well rewarded when they blink at such shipments, and Croatian forces regularly help themselves to one-

third of whatever does get through as "tolls." The shippers said that if the supply route really was cut, "it will cost us a lot more but we will send the goods through the Serbs." That was a credible threat. No more seizures have been reported.

The public bears arguments of moral passion and strategic analysis from the statesmen. But the arguments are driven by obstructions of the moment, maneuver for position, short-term calculation. The statesmen haven't made any policy, so they argue about everything else.

© Flora Lewis

The Euro-American Alliance Weakens

By Jeane Kirkpatrick

WASHINGTON — The UN-authorized NATO air attack on Monday against an airfield in Serbian-held Croatia was not what Americans call "decisive force."

U.S. Admiral Leighton W. Smith, NATO commander in Southern Europe, said of the raid: "If I wanted to put that airfield out of commission, and to

The complex inefficacy of UN operations in Bosnia is nearly unbearable.

make sure nothing ever took off from it again, we would have taken out all the aircraft... We would have hit their ammunition dumps and we would have taken out all the buildings anywhere around that airfield. And we could have done that."

The UN secretary-general's personal representative, Yasushi Akashi, reacted differently. He hoped that Serbs would not be emboldened by these "limited, necessary, proportionate responses."

We are in a very sensitive and delicate situation," he said. "If we

did not act, we would be viewed as incompetent and spineless. But if we acted too vigorously we could provoke an escalation leading to tragic consequences..."

In fact, the tragic consequences were not long coming. Having concluded that NATO was incapable of acting, Serbian forces resumed their murderous attacks. Bihac and surrounding villages were again bombarded with tanks and a helicopter gunship. Surface-to-air missiles were fired at British planes. And Bihac is now completely surrounded.

French Foreign Minister Alain Juppé told television viewers that events to Bosnia raised serious doubts about whether NATO could assure European security in the post-Cold War world. "Never has NATO... appeared so little capable of maintaining security on the old continent. Never have events in Bosnia shown it in so bad a light."

Better an all European security force, Mr. Juppé opined, or a European pillar in NATO. In Washington, too, such questions are beginning to be raised, and not only among isolationists.

Serbia's war against Bosnia puts a heavy strain on the Euro-American relationship. Almost from the beginning there have been differences in the reactions of Europeans and Americans.

Many Americans are sympathetic to Bosnia. Many Americans see Bosnia as the victim of Serbian aggression, ethnic cleansing and conquest, and want to help — but without becoming involved in a ground war.

Sending peacekeepers clearly does not solve the problem.

Most Americans are indifferent to the British, French, Russian and other concerns with the rights and wrongs of the 14th century, nor do we care about European spheres of influence. We care about people being driven from their homes, about civilians being bombed, strafed, burned, frozen. We care about pillage, rape and murder.

We do not believe in neutrality as between aggressors and victims — that is why we opposed Adolf Hitler and Saddam Hussein. We do not believe that member states of the United Nations can be legally or morally denied the right of self-defense as is done when an arms embargo is enforced against Bosnia. That is why America will no longer enforce the embargo.

Americans who feel as I have described are found in both parties. Top officials of the Clinton administration, including the president himself, share these views (although deference to French-British sentiment has largely blocked U.S. support from the Clinton administration). On the Republican side, Robert Dole has led a campaign to obstruct ethnic cleansing and to lift the arms embargo, so as to give the Bosnians a chance to defend themselves.

Of the real and growing differences between Americans and Europeans, Ambrose Evans Pritchard wrote in The Daily Telegraph in London: "Something has finally snapped in the relations between the United States and Britain. The irritation that has been festering over Balkan policy for three years has reached the point of irreparable rift."

NATO, he opines, is finished, and with it the intimate British-American relationship that has existed since World War II.

The causes for this rift are differences on Bosnia and American impatience with the United Nations, in its current mode. The chains of command and control, the unrealistic rules of engagement, the complex inefficacy of UN operations are nearly unbearable for us. No U.S. president can long commit his country to such policies and operations.

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Cambodia's Leaders Aren't Leading

By Milton Osborne

PHNOM PENH — Nearly 18 months after the euphoria generated by United Nations-sponsored elections, doubts about Cambodia's future are widespread. What seemed such a promising new start in May 1993 has been compromised by a series of developments.

Since the 1993 elections there has been an attempted secession and a failed coup, both involving Prince Chakrapong, a one-time ally of present Co-Prime Minister Hun Sen. This year the Cambodian army suffered two major reversals that drew attention to their bloated size, unprofessional leadership and reputation for corruption and human rights abuses.

The Khmer Rouge, despite a drop in the number of their men under arms, continue to control more than 5 percent of the population and deny government forces access to much of the countryside.

Any hope that Cambodia's longtime leader, Norodom Sihanouk, now reinstated as king, could provide solutions have faded as he battles cancer in Beijing. Besides, his own actions after the UN-sponsored elections suggested that he was far from ready to give up the dream of once again being reigning and ruling in Cambodia.

Clearly, the elections left major problems unsolved. First, and most obvious, they did not neutralize the Khmer Rouge.

After opting out of the electoral process, the Khmer Rouge became a potent force for destabilization. The followers of Pol Pot are not supermen, nor are they about to march into Phnom Penh, but they can act as wreckers.

This is the more so because of

the fragile character of the government in Phnom Penh, a coalition of two parties that were mortal enemies until a peace settlement was signed in October 1991. Moreover, it is a coalition in which the balance of power does not reflect the way Cambodians voted last year.

The royalist FUNCINPEC party polled 45 percent of the vote to the ex-Communist Cambodian People's Party's 38 percent. Yet in terms of key ministries held and control of the administration and armed forces, power is firmly in the hands of the CPP.

FUNCINPEC's role was further weakened with the recent dismissal of the widely admired and incorrupt minister of finance, Sam Rainsy, and his close colleague, the foreign minister, Prince Norodom Sirivudh. Their leader, Prince Ranariddh, the most senior of the two co-prime ministers, has shown little readiness to defend his fellow party members, which suggests that his energies are increasingly directed by shoring up his own position, to the exclusion of other considerations.

Against this background, Western nations are considering expanding their aid programs to the Phnom Penh government, and in particular to Cambodia's armed forces. Although they insist that the army must adopt serious measures of reform, there seems every likelihood that the United States, France and Australia will increase their currently modest programs of aid to the military before much change is achieved.

Such aid is unlikely to bring sudden improvement. The hab-

its of military extortion and other abuses are too deep-seated for that to happen.

Nor are the Khmer Rouge likely to cease to be a malevolent force for instability. They are too entrenched in their redoubts, too well armed and unlikely, despite the protestations of innocence from Bangkok, to be quickly denied assistance from elements in the Thai army.

Most important of all the factors that will influence the future, there seems no reason to expect that the government in Phnom Penh is yet ready to place a commitment to national renovation above personal and sectional interests.

That this is so is reflected in the complacent acceptance by the ruling elite of the yawning gap between their privileged lifestyle and the grinding poverty of the urban and rural poor.

Foreign observers who are shocked to find that the Khmer Rouge still survive, despite their past record, are even more disturbed that students in the capital express sympathy for a group that almost all outsiders condemn. The explanation for this apparent paradox lies in the perception that, whatever their past, the Khmer Rouge offer an incorrupt alternative to the government and its army.

A solution to Cambodia's ills will be achieved only if its leaders show a readiness to tackle its problems. As yet there is little evidence of such resolve.

The writer, a former Australian diplomat who served in Cambodia, is author of the recent book "Sihanouk: Prince of Light, Prince of Darkness." He contributed this column to the International Herald Tribune.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1894: China Seeks Truce

SHANGHAI — Details of the capture by the Japanese of Port Arthur are now coming in. China has despatched a special agent to Tokyo with instructions to sue for peace. China will consent to accept almost any terms her conqueror may demand short of actually ceding to Japan any portion of the territory of China proper.

1919: 'Reds' on Strike

NEW YORK — [From our New York edition:] The seventy self-proclaimed citizens of Soviet Russia who are awaiting deportation proceedings on Ellis Island called a protest strike yesterday [Nov. 24] against the "undignified treatment to which they are subjected by immigration officials." The "reds" in true Bolshevik fashion — through a committee — announced that if the wire

mesh barrier that has been erected in the detention pen to separate the prisoners from their visitors was not removed they would not attend the hearings now being conducted by the House Committee on Immigration at Ellis Island.

1944: Polish Struggle

LONDON — [From our New York edition:] Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk and his Polish government-in-exile resigned tonight [Nov. 24] in what appeared to be a general collapse of the long struggle within that government to come to terms with Russia on the post-war status of Poland. This sudden move by Mikolajczyk and his government came as a complete surprise to the usual "official Polish circles." Now diplomatic observers believe that the hopes of a rapprochement between the exiled administration and Moscow are as remote as ever.

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صلى الله عليه وسلم

OPINION

U.S. Troops on the Golan? Pick Your Favorite Version

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — As soon as he arrived at the dinner for him at the Israeli ambassador's residence, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin took me aside to chastise me for opposing his desire for U.S. troops on the Golan Heights.

"The whole idea was Bush and Baker's," he insisted, as if that were in its favor. "They proposed a whole division."

To check out that secret proposal to commit 15,000 troops, I walked over to Dennis Ross, who had been Secretary of State James Baker's top Middle East aide, and continues in that post under Warren Christo-

Shalala, seated to his right, "is not related to the presence of American troops. It is not a major issue."

Great, said I, if it's no big deal to the Syrians, and it's so disruptive to Israelis and Americans, then why not drop it?

"It could become one," he replied. "C'mon, Yitzhak, don't you want those American troops on the Golan to sell your withdrawal from the Golan to the Israelis?"

"If I listened to public opinion, I wouldn't do anything," he countered. "As long as I have a majority of one, I'll continue."

Mr. Christopher, taking Mr. Rabin's side in this dinner-debate, asked what my reasons were for opposing U.S. "monitors." I said I would answer that in a column, and he smiled. "I withdraw the question."

Some reasons are: (1) the United States would then become "neutral" in the struggles between Syria and Israel, in lieu of continuing as Israel's ally — a State Department Arabist's evenhanded dream; (2) the U.S. troops would become targets of terrorist attempts to upset the peace process; (3) Israel's freedom of action would be compromised, with no preemptive action possible without U.S. permission; (4) America's admiration for Israel as militarily self-reliant would be replaced by resentment about risking U.S. lives patrolling their borders.

Mr. Rabin brushed all that off. "Menachem Begin set the precedent by arranging for American monitors in the Sinai," he argued. But wouldn't Golan units be at much greater risk? Chris slipped me another index card. "Just the opposite," Mr. Rabin held. He waved aside what happened to the U.S. Marines in nearby Lebanon.

I tried to tell him that if he botched his negotiation with Syria on being able to deliver American troops to the Golan, the negotiation would fail. Bill Clinton, who has foolishly promised both Mr. Rabin and Hafez Assad to "make the case" for a permanent American border patrol, would lose that case.

Why are senators who hold credentials as unwavering supporters of Israel — Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Alfonse D'Amato, Bob Packwood — against an American tripwire on the Golan? Why are they joined by most of Israel's strongest defenders in the U.S. media?

We are not against risks for peace; we are against imperiling the alliance between Israel and the United States.

The New York Times.

Clinton, who foolishly has promised both Rabin and Assad to 'make the case' for a permanent American border patrol, would lose that case.

pher. "Source says back in '91 you guys promised a whole division on the Golan — true?"

"An American military presence was discussed with Prime Minister Shamir," Mr. Ross admitted, "but no numbers were ever used. Shamir said, 'Very interesting, I'll think about it,' and later turned it down."

Went back to Mr. Rabin and related the response. "Not only did they promise a division," he said, reddening, "but a security pact as well. You don't believe me? Ask Shamir!"

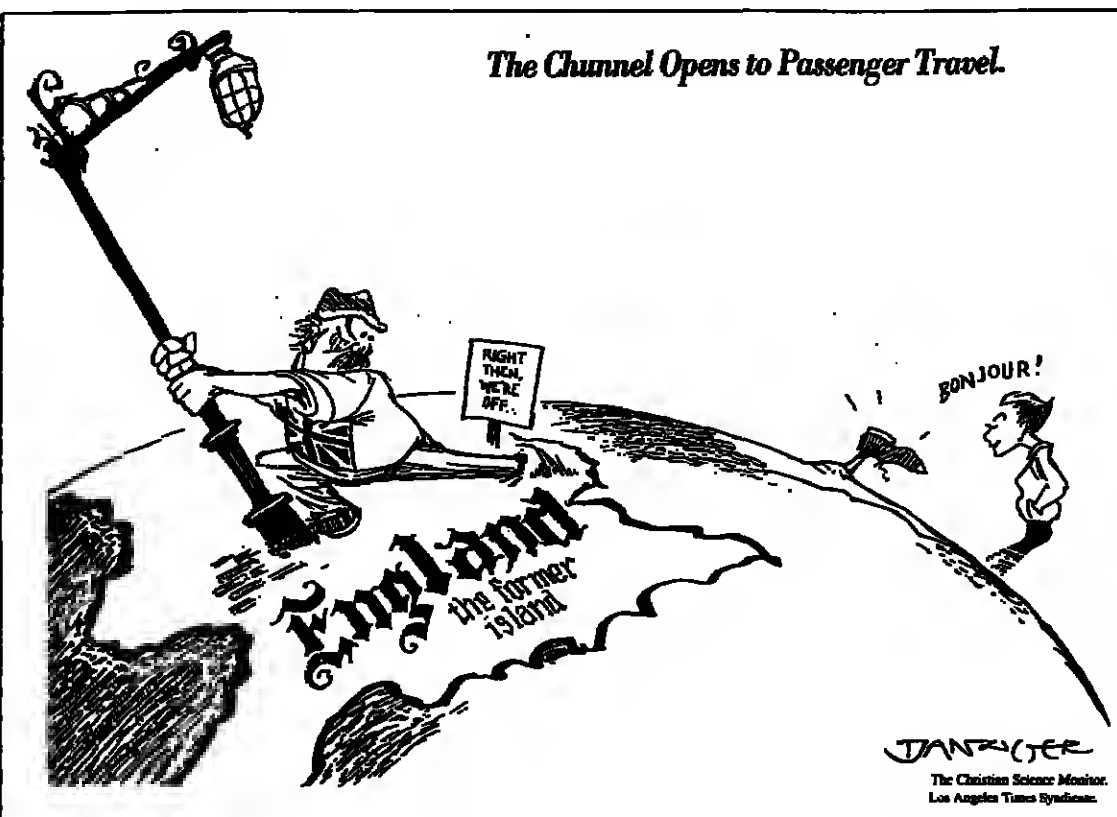
(Next day I called Yitzhak Shamir, who said, "I always opposed U.S. forces to defend Israel, and I don't remember any such proposal to me, because I always opposed withdrawal from the Golan." Three memories conflict; go figure.)

At the dinner table, with Mr. Christopher between us, Mr. Rabin charged that I had been "brainwashed by the Gang of Three" (a trio of Likud spokesmen).

I was deeply perturbed — not at my old friend Rabin, with whom I can disagree without rancor — but at my lack of notepaper at a news-worthy moment. Chris came to the rescue, slipping me one of the index cards he had used for his toast.

Did Israel really need the Americans on the border to make a deal with Syria?

"The gap in our negotiations," the prime minister said, lighting a cigarette that nearly asphyxiated Donna



The Chunnel Opens to Passenger Travel.

Taking a Story for a Walk On a Special Day in Paris

By Kyle Jarrard

PARIS — You knew when you saw them up there kissing that it was a special day. Way up there on a tower of Notre Dame in a blade of yellow sun. At the highest point they could be. Kissing with abandon.

But it begins a week or so before in a department store basement at the staplers counter. The sales clerk, a square-headed older lady, scowls when she sees you coming, scowls as you check out the mer-

chandise, scowls even when you buy a big one and two boxes of staples, say thank you and depart. With that, your one-man free fiction outfit is about to be up and running.

Mind you, the other work had already been done — the story writing. In fact, it had been done for a long time, and had sailed around the world a few times, too. Only to come back. Like a bird to an old nest. What are you going to do with a story like that? There was only one solution: give it away, to anybody.

They used to call them chapbooks. Maybe they still do. They're just a few pages thick, stapled. They weigh no more than a letter.

You do up a hundred of them, complete with homemade dadaist cover. At the bottom on the back, Lume de Ville Presse (in kinship with a friend's City Moon Press in America) and the month and year. No address: It's not clear you want to get mail.

That leaves only the actual distribution, which turns out to be straightforward to the point of blase. But, as in a certain Eastern religion, getting there is more the point than arriving, which is especially good advice for an afternoon's walk across Paris under a bright fall sky.

Where once again you find yourself among countless pairs of eyes. Furtive eyes that sometimes meet yours, investigate, anxious to touch, and yet afraid. Of what? Of everything, in this city where it seems a violation to say hello to a stranger, especially with the eyes. Disappointed eyes that disappear left and right in the gray flow.

Where once again you find yourself heading for the quay down by the Pont Neuf for the view. There, in the sun, an old Japanese couple stand sketching the trees and the Square du Vert Galant.

Where across the street from the statue of Henri IV it's Beaujolais Nouveau night. Or, rather, Bojo afternoon. Fiddles screech inside and the customers are wall-to-wall. A

MEANWHILE

huge fat man blocks the door like a stopper, his bulging violet cheeks looking rubbed with butter.

Where the Place Dauphine is empty save a lawyer who looks like a fashion model coming across from the Palais de Justice in her shimmering black robe and perfect white tie. It's quitting time, and all the guards (a thousand and one walkie-talkies going at once) follow her with their eyes. You make your way down the sidewalk to the Quai des Orfèvres.

Where someone is playing good sax under the Pont St. Michel. The sound rings up and down the neighborhood and even the cops on patrol stop and lean over the wall and look at the guy. Or maybe at the young women perched below like gulls at the Seine's edge.

The echoes follow you down the quay, and then the cathedral comes into view with the two tiny black-dressed figures up there kissing as if the world were about to end. Maybe nobody is watching. Maybe everybody on the square is looking. It doesn't matter. They are as alone up there as they would have been on a cloud. You think of angels and then laugh at yourself for it.

The little American bookstore nearby agrees to take half the freebies. (We couldn't have sold them, the clerk coldly reminds.) And then, farther back on the Left Bank, the little Canadian bookstore takes the rest. (You say you might bring another bundle in a couple of weeks, if that's O.K. You say how much you appreciate their doing this. You're welcome, they say.)

Job done. Fiction delivered. And none too soon. For there is much more walking to do. And a coffee somewhere along the way. In a loud cafe where you sit and watch a while, listen to six languages coming from six tables. On each, cameras and piles of guides. Outside, a show-sprouts a jungle of umbrellas.

Later on, for no real reason, you head back past the Bojo bar, where the battered wine barrel is now out on the sidewalk. Just as you arrive, a big man bursts forth carrying a big woman, both laughing like new-laid. People inside are cheering. He puts her down and they smile back at the crowd, then at each other, and head off into the early night arm in arm.

Across the Pont Neuf on the Right Bank, over a big department store like a doll's house all alight, comes the city moon, slightly blue, full. Against the low-flying clouds, it seems to race up in the sky.

International Herald Tribune.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

For a U.S. Parliament

Given the results of the recent U.S. elections and the reduction of Bill Clinton's role to little more than a veto power, is it not time for the presidency to be abolished?

That this office exists at all is an anachronism owing to America's 18th century constitution, which was put in place when kings and emperors ruled Europe and before the European democracies had absorbed their executive powers into Parliaments.

It is time the United States caught up. Such a change would end the governmental warring that is exhausting America and dispiriting the electorate; would allow cohesive political parties to develop; and would perhaps make Congress the world's great forum for public debate that the Founding Fathers intended.

JOHN G. ROBERTS
Amsterdam.

In Line to Thump Clinton

Regarding the report "Muslims Urged to Target Clinton" (Nov. 21):

When I read that Muslims were being "urged to target Clinton," I thought, get in line. The U.S. president has been roundly attacked by the Republicans — nastily so by the likes of Newt Gingrich and Jesse Helms; obliquely by his own constituents in Congress, who kept their distance from the president in the November campaign; nibbled to

death by the media; derided from pulpits of the Christian Coalition; and stiff-armed by European leaders who can't decide whether the United States is too strong or not strong enough.

I've decided to target the president, too. I'm targeting him for reelection in 1996. The simple reasons are (1) he's a statesman in a hayfield of loudmouthed politicians; (2) unlike the Christian Coalition, he really does care for his fellow citizen, including unmarried pregnant women, gays and the poor; (3) in two years, despite the deadly silence accorded their passage, long overdue legislation on important social issues has been written into law. I would like to see what the man could accomplish, given a fair chance, in six more years.

CAROL ALLEN
Paris.

Short on Moral Authority

Two main goals of the Clinton administration have been the partial disarmament of America and the provision of universal health care. These are admirable aims from any objective point of view. How then to explain the president's difficulties?

Harry Truman once defined the major job of any American president as convincing people to do hard things "that they knew all along they should do."

It seems obvious that to perform that duty a chief executive must

have a certain moral authority. Alas, whether or not the picture is fair, part of Mr. Clinton's image is that of a bent Bible thumper, the sort of evangelist who fawns around with the choir girls and who perhaps lifts a bit from the plate.

Thus, he fails in his worthy efforts, and voters turn away.

PETER AMBLER
London.

Slovakia's War Record

Regarding "Robert Paxton: France's American Expert on Vichy" (Features, Oct. 21) by Joan Dupont:

Robert Paxton is wrong when he states that France was the only collaborationist country to have deported its Jews without the presence of the Germans. It shares that "distinction" with wartime Slovakia under the leadership of Jozef Tiso. Hitler said: "It is interesting to note the way in which this little Catholic priest who calls himself Tiso sends the Jews into our hands."

The Slovaks outdid the Vichy government by far. They paid the Germans 500 marks for every Jewish man, woman and child deported, including my family. Their Parliament was the only one in Europe to vote for deportation.

At present, Jozef Tiso's house is preserved as a national shrine.

JACK GARFEIN
Paris.

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License to Ski: On the Trail of James Bond in the Alps

By Corinne K. Hoexter

GRINDELWALD, Switzerland — Before we left for our ski week in Grindelwald in March, we had already been impressed by three things we had heard about the Jungfrau region: its spectacular scenery, its starring role in the James Bond ski opus "On Her Majesty's Secret Service" and its reputation as an agreeable place for intermediate skiers like us. While we can navigate most trails, my husband, Rolf, and I do not seek out double diamonds with narrow chutes and a surfeit of shoulder-high moguls.

We began to appreciate the scenery as the electric locomotive of the Bernese Oberland Bahn, a cog railway, pulled us up the valley of the Lütschine River from Interlaken East toward Grindelwald. Suddenly the walls of rock surrounding us parted slowly like giant curtains, revealing the trio of peaks over 13,000 feet (about 4,000 meters) that would dominate our skyline for a week — the Jungfrau, the Mönch and the fearsome Eiger. "At least there's snow up there," I said, for we had left an East Coast hurried in snow to encounter spring in the Alps.

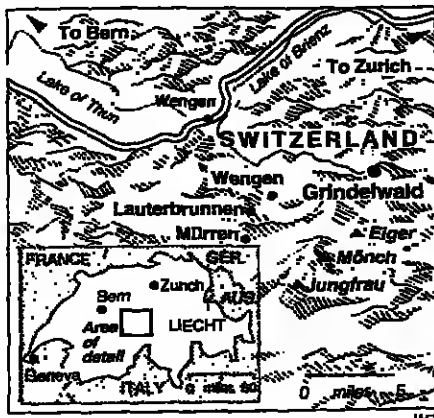
Though travelers as famous as Goethe had by the 18th century begun to flock to the Bernese Oberland to admire Grindelwald's glacier, Switzerland's notable mountain transport system proved the key to opening the Jungfrau region to tourists, climbers and, later, skiers. By the second

half of the 19th century, rail lines had pushed from Bern as far as Interlaken, and by the 1890s on separate spurs to the villages of Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald (3,993 feet), then linked by a loop over Kleine Scheidegg (6,700 feet) under the Eiger. In 1912, what is still the highest cog railway in Europe reached the Jungfrau-joch at 11,333 feet. Of the Jungfrau region's two car-free resorts, Wengen was reached by the rail loop over Kleine Scheidegg from the Lauterbrunnen side and Mürren by a separate rail line that began service in 1891.

Ringed by a battalion of peaks that rise from its valley, Grindelwald retains scattered hints of the rural past — around its chalets, with their overhanging peaked roofs and elaborately carved wood trim, we saw budding fruit trees, haystacks, woodpiles and cowsheds. The inherent drama of the setting is accentuated by the looming presence over the winding village street of the rugged Wetterhorn and the Eiger's sheer North Wall, scaled only in 1938 after a number of contenders had plunged to their deaths.

Our small, recently renovated chalet-style hotel at the quiet end of the village, the Gletschergarten, was run by the granddaughter of the man who first turned it into an inn in the 1890s. Our package included a generous Swiss-style buffet breakfast and four-course dinner, an L-shaped double room with modern bath and a balcony overlooking the austere slim-spired village church.

Our ski pass gave us entrée to 45 lifts serving 125 miles (200 kilometers) of trails



in three major areas: Grindelwald First, straight up from the village center; the Grindelwald-Wengen-Kleine Scheidegg triangle, the heart of the region with more than half the lifts and trails, and finally Mürren, where every January a notorious downhill race on the steep and bumpy Inferno "007" trail draws 1,500 would-be alpine champions.

From Grindelwald station, the 35-minute train ride under the presiding Eiger hauled us through avalanche sheds up to the high amphitheater around Kleine Scheidegg.

On our arrival, after first missing the trail under its morning frosting and pitching into a snow drift, I began to adjust to the

alternating crunch and powder. Soon we were zigzagging our way across open slopes on creamy snow with trails so wide that a blue (easy), a red (intermediate) and a black (difficult) might drop over them side by side in gradations from the gentlest to the steepest pitch. We went up the Honegg T-bar, the steep, icy one that comes to a sudden, rather scary end, and the easy-riding Tschuggen. We were funneled into long lanes between the evergreens and up over ridges on narrow two-way paths.

Toward the Wengen side, we crossed a magic border into our ski field of dreams: the heights of Männlichen, 7,317 feet, with its series of parallel ridges served by two chairs under the almost four-mile-long gondola from Grindelwald Grund. This hilly white sea was crisscrossed by roller-coaster trails, soaring over great mounds and dropping into hidden hollows.

Luckily, the Männlichen chair rose to a plateau that included the Bergrestaurant and a dizzying view down a steep plunge demarcated by avalanche fences. Refreshed by a lunch of a fondue variation that resembled a grilled cheese sandwich, consommé and green salad, we flung ourselves back over the rim of the ski bowl to pursue our pendulum course back to Kleine Scheidegg and the train. At some point the great cruising arcs we had been making so easily seemed to become slow and sluggish to execute in the rising heat of the afternoon. Even mogul patches became merely slushy. By the last run up the Arven chair, we had acquired a healthy

thirst. Fortunately, an outdoor bar awaited next to the tracks.

Two days later, a perfect sky shone over the Wetterhorn. The morning huddle among the skiing guests in the hotel dining room agreed it was just the day for the trip up to the Jungfrau-joch.

For the last four miles of a 50-minute journey, the cogwheel train from Kleine Scheidegg travels through a tunnel just inside the North Wall of the Eiger and the Mönch to the Jungfrau-joch, 11,333 feet. We left the dim station, feeling lightheaded, and ran into a wall of blinding light where the sun blazed on a river of snow flowing between a circle of mountains — the Aletsch Glacier, the longest in the Alps, running 60 miles to the south.

WITHIN the glass-sided Mountain House, built into the rock adjoining the station and completed in 1987, we discovered an array of restaurants, a souvenir shop and a post office as well as a network of internal galleries to several vantage points and the mysterious ice palace carved deep inside the glacier 50 years ago by an alpine guide from Grindelwald. We skated on our shoe soles along the slippery corridors grasping a railing as an eerie blue penumbra lighted the niches containing ice sculptures. On a platform attached to the Sphinx research station and again on a slippery plateau hanging over the glacier, we steadied ourselves in the icy wind gusting 40 miles an hour in freezing temperatures.

On the last day, we could not go to Mürren as planned because the early spring had closed parts of the "007" run. In the morning on the advanced slopes near the Lauberhorn and Wisi chairs above the tree line, we sometimes seemed to be plunging over the outer edge of the world's curve.

Determined to go as near Wengen as the snow would allow, we headed down the steep, the twists and the mostly mashed-down bumps of the Lauberhorn World Cup racing trail. Approaching a pair of huge boulders that loomed in our path, we swerved around them into a beautiful highway between aisles of evergreens.

On our last run to the railroad's midstation Brändegg we were moving free across the wide sunny fields in lengthening shadow, sometimes gliding between the trees, gradually accelerating till we felt we had broken away from the pull of gravity.

As we enjoyed a farewell drink at a café not far from the station, we wondered when we might fill in the blanks on our Grindelwald exploits, ski to Wengen and Mürren, defy the perils of the Sallegg T-bar, and eat in the Fizz Gloria, the revolving restaurant at the top of the Schilthorn that was used as a set for "On Her Majesty's Secret Service." When we got back home, we rented a video of the Bond movie. The skiing sequences seemed a bit overdone, but then exaggeration had always been the essence of 007.

Corinne K. Hoexter, a longtime skier, wrote this for The New York Times.

For Overnight Pop-Ins: A Hotel for the Under-12 Set

By Emily Laurence Baker

LONDON — The London Hotel of the Year in the "1994 Which?" Hotel Guide" costs £25 to £30 a night, including dinner and breakfast, and has a staff that tries to indulge every whim. There are a few catches: Guests don't get a private room or bath and must be between the ages of 2 and 12.

Pippa Pop-ins, apparently the only children's hotel in the world, is the innovation of Pippa Deakin, a former teacher and nanny who was once asked to baby-sit for seven youngsters on the same night. She resolved the dilemma by inviting them all to her house for an evening of bubble baths and midnight feasts.

"I wondered how many other parents couldn't get a baby-sitter that night," says the 29-year-old Deakin. "So why not a children's hotel?" Deakin expanded her original idea and in January 1992 opened the overnight nursery along with a licensed nursery school and a vacation excursion program.

The only similar establishment is in Hungerford, England, at the Norland

Nursery Training College, where youngsters can stay with a training nanny for extended periods. Pippa Pop-ins has a three-night maximum.

The Georgian residence, situated on the busy stretch of Fulham Road beside the Chelsea Football Club grounds, appears to have been decorated by an interior design firm staffed with under-12s. A spacious playroom on the ground floor is crisscrossed with toys and books. Stuffed animals and wooden toys peer over stairway landings and the walls of the two bedrooms are lined with clowns.

Children choose their own beds, and amazingly everyone agrees. There are only three house rules: "Yes means yes, no means no, and a promise is a promise to be kept."

Weekend dinners are a celebration with party hats, balloons and streamers. Some parents might be dismayed at the bowls of potato chips and chocolate bars that line the table before dinner is served but the guests don't seem to mind. Nor do they complain about the menu of sausage rolls, baked beans, pizza and chips accompanied by vintage orange squash.

The kids don't even mention the recycled bathwater that would undoubtedly make

adults squirm. As the youngest group comes out, the older ones obediently strip ("next to your beds, please, so clothes don't get mixed up") and climb into water strewn with soap bubbles and floating letters.

After bathtime, the pajama-clad entourage races back downstairs for a "midnight" feast (a few hours earlier than would be technically accurate) and a short video. The best is yet to come: an organized pillow fight before the three night-duty nannies tuck the exhausted hotel patrons into bed.

From fairy hunts in the garden (where Deakin's pet rabbits are housed) to theme

weekends that sometimes include entertainment, Deakin wants the experience to be a child's fantasy.

Even so, parents might have trouble believing Ms. Pop-ins' insistence that there is no homework. Indeed, two recent visits revealed several distressed youngsters clinging to mothers' knees, imploring them not to leave. But the nannies are adept at defusing despair after parents depart.

The anti-homework campaign begins long before the tour arrive. Prospective guests are invited to tea before their overnight visit to inspect the surroundings. "Children are invited by me to come and stay," explains Deakin, "if they say no, we won't accept the booking."

Files are maintained on each child detailing personal information and bedtime routines. Odd habits are indulged. One 2-year-old whose mother brings a glass of milk to her bedside every morning starts her day the same way at Pippa Pop-ins.

Just what kind of parents send their child to a hotel overnight? While you might think it's the dual-career couple whose business schedules clash with each other's and their offspring, it's more likely to be parents with a big night out.

Deakin is not daunted by running a day and overnight nursery at a time when the child-care industry is regularly publicly scrutinized. "Of course I'm aware of things that could go wrong — the responsibility is there 24 hours a day, seven days a week. But this is a vision, a life, and whether I'm paid or not I still want to do it."

Her vision extends beyond Fulham Road, beginning with Wimbledon, where she awaits planning approval for use of a listed building as a prep school and hotel. Future plans include kiddie hotels in New York and Washington and schools for children with special needs.

Despite Deakin's ambitious goals, her role as managing director includes regular nighttime nanny shifts, during which she looks completely natural seated on a two-foot-high chair amidst chaos.

"Every day that a child comes here and goes home happy, it's been a great success," she says. "Every day should be special." Coming from anyone else that would sound painfully naive. But under the spell of Mary Poppins incarnate, one can only think, why not?

Emily Laurence Baker is a free-lance writer based in London.



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La Estrategia del Caracol

Directed by Sergio Cabrera

Colombia

Cabrera is the son of Spanish actors who went into exile during the Franco dictatorship, and Cabrera as a young man fought in the guerrilla forces in his native Colombia. Given that background, it's not surprising that Cabrera's latest film, which he co-wrote, depicts some salt-of-the-earth tenants in Bogotá who devise a snail's pace (caracol) strategy to resist eviction by a greedy landlord and his thugs. The refreshing part is how Cabrera masterfully weaves the political message into a gripping human drama, with ample humor. He makes rooting for the crafty good guys so much fun, while presenting the antagonists as narrow-minded fellows you love to hate. Leading the tenants' fight for

human dignity is Jacinto, played by the director's father, Fausto. He advises, "For once, believe in people and not just the law," and makes references to the good fight against Franco in the Spanish civil war. The tenants quickly close ranks: a woman who miraculously enlists the Virgin Mary in the struggle; a down-and-out lawyer; an unusual prostitute; and a priest with a stray eye. The acting is first rate and the pace is keen. (A Goodman, IHT)

Junior

Directed by Ivan Reitman

U.S.

From Terminator to Incubator, from steroids to estrogen, from buns of steel to bun in the oven: Arnold Schwarzenegger gets in touch with his feminine side in "Junior." A floppy romantic caper with a dusting of feminism, the picture is basically a one-joke

movie successfully nursed by director Ivan Reitman.

Schwarzenegger, who has never looked more radiant, is pregnant. Danny DeVito, as a fertility doctor, impregnates the hero, who is both father and surrogate mother of the embryo. Schwarzenegger and DeVito play Alexander Hesse and Larry Arbogast, an Austrian scientist and a tenacious gynecologist who have developed a drug, Expectance, that reduces the risk of miscarriage in chimps.

When the FDA forbids them to test it on pregnant women, Arbogast persuades Hesse to play guinea pig in the name of science. Meanwhile, their funds are cut off and a villainous department head (Frank Langella) forces them to give up their lab at the university to make room for Diana Reddin (intoxicating Emma Thompson), a cryogenics expert who arrives

with a "dairy case" of frozen ova. "Junior" becomes a bit sticky in the end. But it is worth it all the same, just to be there when Schwarzenegger delivers not just the baby but also the line "My body, my choice." (Rita Kempley, WP)

A Low Down Dirty Shame

Directed by Keenen Ivory Wayans

U.S.

For all its jokes, "A Low Down Dirty Shame" is not an out-and-out spoof of the exploitation genre like Keenen Ivory Wayans's 1989 comedy hit, "I'm Gonna Get You Sucka." It is a good-natured action film that doesn't take itself at all seriously. The story isn't much to speak of. Wayans, who also wrote the film, plays Andre Shame, a former cop turned private eye whose business is going nowhere. Just when things are about to collapse,

he is hired by an officer of the Drug Enforcement Agency to find \$20 million in missing drug money. Shame's adversary, Mendoza (Andrew Divoff), is a notorious drug czar rumored to be dead but actually living with Shame's former sweetheart, Angela (Salli Richardson). Wayans is an agreeable screen presence, but he makes a surprisingly bland action hero. As the object of two competing women, he seems bored by a contest that builds into a furious argument about who is a better fighter, Mike Tyson or Muhammad Ali. The combatants are the sultry Angela and Shame's adoring secretary and assistant, Peaches (Jada Pinkett). Pinkett, whose performance is as sassy and sizzling as a Salt-N-Pepa recording, walks away with the movie. (Stephen Holden, NYT)

La Bella Vita

Directed by Paolo Virzi

Italy

From a summer romance fueled by a refrain of separations, reunions and ferry rides between the mainland and the island of Elba, Bruno and Mirella marry and create a discreet and evidently happy life together. Bruno works in a steel mill in his native

coast town of Piombino. Mirella holds down a job as a cashier in the Piombino supermarket. Then, in what seems to be an instant, their tableau of quiet, consensual resignation comes undone. Bruno is laid off. Mirella, a dutiful, devoted companion as both fiancée and wife, falls for Jerry Fumo, an unctuous, local television personality who represents a chance for glamour and romance. The safe, insulated life for which both Bruno and Mirella put their dreams in hock has vaporized like the most volatile of illusions. "La Bella Vita" is a light, realistic and, for the most part, fast-moving tale about the loss of identity in today's Italian working class. Bruno, Mirella and even Jerry Fumo — whose veneer of romance and polish soon peels to reveal an insecure, dependent man with needs too great for Mirella to tend to — are left to sort out what remains of their ambitions, illusions and certitudes. Claudio Bigagli is excellent as the deliberate, disoriented Bruno, while the voluptuous but somehow chaste Sabrina Ferilli almost bursts the contours of her character as Mirella. (Ken Shulman, IHT)

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Quirky Tips From the Famous

By Roger Collis
International Herald Tribune

RECRUIT a worldwide team of 200 peripatetic celebrities, critics, food writers, hoteliers, restaurateurs and assorted entrepreneurs and ask them to report on what they consider to be the best in travel. This is the formula for the fifth edition of Connoisseur's "The Book of the Best," published this month in London (Vermilion/Random House, £12.99). It is edited by the food critic Lloyd Grossman, who is taking over from Lord Lichfield, founder-editor, who started the publication 10 years ago.

The result is a travel guide packed with tips and opinions, verdicts and often idiosyncratic insights. The new edition covers 58 countries with 2,500 entries on the best hotels, restaurants, bars and clubs, museums, galleries, markets, fashion designers, festivals, spas, sports, theater, music, shopping and sightseeing.

Scattered throughout the book are essays on such eclectic topics as Wolfgang Puck ("chef to the stars" in Los Angeles); Literary New York (readings, bookshops and tours); Best of the Bush (Australia); Melbourne Foodie Musts; Big Breakfasts in Sydney; Indian Choice; Top Tailors and Pub Grub (London); Nile Tours (Egypt); Bistros, Choice Cheeses, Chocoholics Choice (Paris); Exotic Adventures (Himalayas); Private Palace Hotels (India); Pub Culture (Ireland); Piazza Campidoglio (Rome); Best Parks in Tokyo; Café Life (Amsterdam); A Great River Journey (Papua New Guinea); and the Blue Train in South Africa.

Don't look for consistency or objectivity (it takes a serious celebrity to be as fatuous as "Taillevent is easily the best in France," Judith Krantz); "St. Petersburg is a drug," Princess Katya Galitzine; or "The difficulty with Paris is that every restaurant is so good you can't just pick one," Andrew Lloyd Webber. But there's too much good stuff here to quibble about that.

Entries are arbitrary and inconsistent. The United States gets 41 pages; Britain 34; Hong Kong, seven; Japan and Thailand six each; Singapore three; South Africa two; places like Fiji, Sri Lanka, Bermuda and Jamaica have half a dozen entries among them; Cuba gets a page; while Finland, Malta, Israel, most of the Gulf states and the Philippines are left out altogether.

"The book is highly subjective; we make no claim to objectivity. Most guidebooks either rely on one person's opinion, or like Michelin on a highly trained team of professionals. Whereas ours is based purely on the subjective thoughts of 200 people who are demanding, cosmopolitan, and sophisticated," says Grossman. "The best is going to be their collective view. But there's no question that the best has more to do now with best value and local character than it did, say, two or three years ago. There has been a pretty healthy turn away from the sort of preposterous ostentation of international luxury."

"Of course, you're going to have predictable things; I mean when you talk about Paris hotels, the Crillon is going to be there. But what we've tried to do this year is to get

The Frequent Traveler

off the beaten track and stress the interest of things that are local and particular to the various places, to counteract the wave of homogenization one finds everywhere. This is not my personal restaurant guide. But I have attempted to stress value, more about attractions for kids and culture, which I find play an increasingly important role in determining travelers' itineraries. That may explain why travel to cities has become increasingly popular. Many people visit the Far East on business and return for pleasure. This is my first year as editor. But Patrick Lichfield, who started it, is a benign influence; he travels incessantly and knows a lot of people.

"The length of contributions, and indeed which countries get listed at all depends on our contributors; that's why we have these little essays on places like Vietnam that our gang are increasingly traveling to. If one of our contributors said, 'By the way, I've just spent three months in Timbuktu, it's a fabulous place,' we'd write about it. This year we've identified places, like Lyon, that tend to get missed out. It's very amusing to see the opinions of people both on sacred cows and new discoveries. It's an exceptionally good worldwide telephone directory."

I recognized only a handful of the celebrities listed at the front of the guide — authentic luminaries like Peter Ustinov, Richard Branson, David Frost, Andre Previn, Ralph Steadman, Andrew Lloyd

Webber, Jeffrey Archer, Michael Caine, Joan Collins, Douglas Fairbanks Jr. and Dame Barbara Cartland.

Lichfield and Grossman recruited 12 of the top celebrities as a jury for 16 somewhat gimmicky "Best Value" awards. "Not the best of the best but amongst the most interesting and stimulating of the best," Grossman says. Singapore Airlines (Best Airline), Four Seasons-Regent Hotels (Best Hotel Group), Dubai (Best Airport Shopping) and Hong Kong (Best Destination) are arguable, though what you might expect; but Melbourne Moomba (Best Festival); Roscoff Belfast (Best British Restaurant); St. Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art in Glasgow (Best British Museum); and Opera North in Leeds (Achievement in the Arts in Britain) started me turning the pages. And I wouldn't quarrel with Best British Breakfast (Simpson's-on-the-Strand) and Best Pub (The Dove) both in London, or Lyon as Best European Weekend Destination.

"The Book of the Best" carries the usual disclaimer about not accepting advertising or payment for entries. But it may be a tad incestuous when celebrities just happen to praise one another. Alain Ducasse (a contributor) at the Hotel de Paris in Monte Carlo is hyped as the World's Greatest Chef — which he may well be — but did he pay for his meal at Joël Robuchon's "temple of gastronomy" in Paris? And is it cynical to suppose that Ustinov got the presidential suite at the Westbury in Dublin because he is Sir Peter Ustinov? Perhaps you have to be a celebrity to get a free lunch.

"I would be extremely distressed to find out that anyone involved with the book had ever had a quid pro quo, or said, let me stay for free and I'll give you a write-up," Grossman says. "At least we didn't ask Alain Ducasse to write his own blurb. And I happen to think that because he is a great chef, his views on a restaurant, colored as they may be by his philosophy, are bound to be interesting."

WELL, yes. Until we read that Mohamed al Fayed praises the Ritz in Paris as meeting the exacting standards of César Ritz, 100 years ago, when al Fayed was both a contributor and owner of the Ritz.

A crucial test for a travel guide is what it says about places in your own backyard or familiar stamping ground.

"The Book of the Best" barely scrapes by in its listings for the Côte d'Azur — sound on art and museums; otherwise predictable and pedestrian.

But for London, the guide comes alive. Apart from a few dud entries, it's an excellent London restaurant guide, with an inside track to the trendiest and best value places in town. So I'll take it with me when I next go to Hong Kong.

AT A GLANCE: GOOD TRAVEL DEALS

Carrier/Hotel	Location	Deal
ARABELLA GRAND HOTEL	Frankfurt	"Winter Special" rate: single/double at 230/280 Deutsche marks (\$148/\$180), including buffet breakfast, welcome cocktail, use of pool and health club. Friday to Monday, Jan. 1 to March 31.
BEST WESTERN	Arizona	"Ski Arizona Package" at Woodlands Plaza Hotel, Flagstaff; \$120 for a one-night stay for two includes two lift tickets to Snowbowl, welcome drinks and American breakfasts. Until March 31.
CATHAY PACIFIC/ MANDARIN ORIENTAL	Manila to Hong Kong	Mandarin Manila hotel guests can claim an upgrade to first or business class on Cathay for \$30 on the day when they check out of the hotel. Until Dec. 31.
DYNASTY HOTEL	Kuala Lumpur	Introductory rates from 195 ringgit (\$76) a night with breakfast.
GULF AIR	Hong Kong to Bangkok	Fly first or business class and get second ticket free for use any time. Until Dec. 31.
HILTON INTERNATIONAL	Worldwide	At least 30 percent off published rates at 100 properties in "Winter World of Savings" promotion. Upgrade to "deluxe" room for \$30 more. Until April 23.
HOTEL PALAZZO VENDRAMIN	Venice	Two nights in a suite for 850,000 lire (\$530) per person sharing a room includes airport/train transfers, welcome champagne, flowers, butler service, breakfasts in the suite, dinner each night in a choice of seven Venice restaurants. Until March 31.
HYATT	Worldwide	"Great Deal" promotion offers discounts of up to 45 percent at all Hyatt hotels in Asia Pacific and selected properties in the United States, Europe, Mexico and South America.
LAUDA AIR	Hong Kong to Vienna	Hong Kong to Vienna round-trip fare of 4,990 Hong Kong dollars (\$645) includes stopover discounts in Vienna plus the option to fly to either London, Paris or Munich at no extra cost. Until Dec. 14.
LUFTHANSA	London to Hamburg	Pay full business class (£198, or about \$310, one-way) from London City Airport to Hamburg and you can take a companion for £49 one-way. Travel must start by Dec. 31.
MALAYSIA AIRLINES	Britain to Asia/South America	Full-fare business-class passengers traveling from Heathrow via Kuala Lumpur are automatically upgraded to first class. New destinations served via Kuala Lumpur include Cape Town, Buenos Aires, Mexico City and Beijing. Until March 31.
MANDARIN ORIENTAL	Asia	"Oriental Interludes" promotional rates at 11 hotels (starting at \$98 at the Mandarin Oriental in Macao) include American breakfast, flowers and fruit in room on arrival, and check-out till 6 P.M. Subject to availability. Until March 31.
RENAISSANCE HOTEL	Seoul	Single "executive" rooms for \$210 a night includes airport limo transfers, breakfast and cocktails, local phone calls and laundry service, plus 4 P.M. checkout. Until Feb. 28.
SAS	Germany to Osaka, Japan	EuroBonus members (traveling via Copenhagen) earn 5,000 extra bonus points in business class per round-trip to Osaka and 15,000 extra points for two round-trips, which earn a free round-trip economy ticket from Germany to Stockholm, and free trip to the United States respectively. Until Jan. 31.
TAP AIR PORTUGAL	London to Portugal	Half-price companion fares (Heathrow to Lisbon, Oporto or Faro) include three days' Avis car rental. Minimum Saturday night stay. Until Dec. 9 and Dec. 25 to March 31.

Although the IHT carefully checks these offers, please be forewarned that some travel agents may be unaware of them. It's worth a look.

VAT Guide: Getting Refund Isn't Easy

By Betsy Wade
New York Times Service

SWITZERLAND is joining the 19 European countries that charge a value-added tax, or VAT, on goods and services. The tax goes into effect Jan. 1, and the rate is 6.5 percent.

It applies to accommodations, car rentals and restaurant meals, as well as goods purchased to be taken home. It will not be applied to theater tickets, according to Erika Lieben, public relations manager for the Swiss National Tourist Office in New York.

The new tax, described as a consumption tax, will replace a purchase tax of 4.5 to 4.8 percent that now applies only to merchandise. Despite the rise, the 6.5 percent rate is among the lowest in Europe, where the levels run up to 25 percent in Denmark, 21 percent in Ireland, and 17.5 percent in the Netherlands and Britain.

Tourism-promotion organizations make a fair amount of noise about the possibilities for tourists to recover the taxes they have laid out, but the truth is that, with one exception, refunds are available only for merchandise that is bought to be taken out of the country, and the tourist must spend a certain amount in one store, or in Spain, in one purchase, to get a refund. At this writing, the Swiss had not decided whether tourists could obtain a refund at all.

Some countries apply tax rates to lodgings and restaurant meals that are lower than the standard rates for merchandise. But whatever the rate, these taxes are not recoverable, except in Canada, where hotel taxes may be recouped by a traveler with proper documentation.

The VAT is sneaky: The price tags on merchandise, the prices on menus or rates printed on hotel brochures generally do not list it separately; the traveler may even remain unaware of its existence.

All 12 countries of the European Union apply this tax: Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain.

Most other countries in Europe have VATs, including four countries scheduled to join the European Union in 1995: Austria, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

Except for Britain, European countries set a minimum amount the traveler must spend in one store, or in the case of Spain, on one purchase, to qualify for a refund.

In Britain, alone in the European Union, the stores set this minimum. At

Harrods, it is £150, or about \$235 at the current rate of exchange; at Harvey Nichols, £100; Selfridges, Liberty or Marks & Spencer, £75; at Fortnum & Mason and the Peter Jones and John Lewis stores, £50.

Although these thresholds may look steep to travelers on a budget, the fact is there is little point in going through all the paperwork for small purchases, which produce still smaller refunds, and which will be further diminished by a service charge of 20 percent levied by the company that handles the refunds.

If you are making a purchase in a store where things are more informal, it's smarter to see if the store will deduct the tax from the price, and avoid the annoyance at the airport. Small shops are likely to be most amenable to this idea.

Almost all refund arrangements in Europe — Ireland excepted — are handled in the United States by Europe Tax-Free Shopping, with sales headquarters at 233 South Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60606. People from other countries can write to its Swedish headquarters at Faktörvägen 9, Box 10004, S-434 21, Kungälv, Sweden.

The company began in 1980 and now operates in Austria, Belgium, Britain, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Slovenia and Spain. Steve Jarmal, sales manager, says that the company has agreements with 70,000 stores in these countries, which usually display a logo: "Tax Free for Tourists."

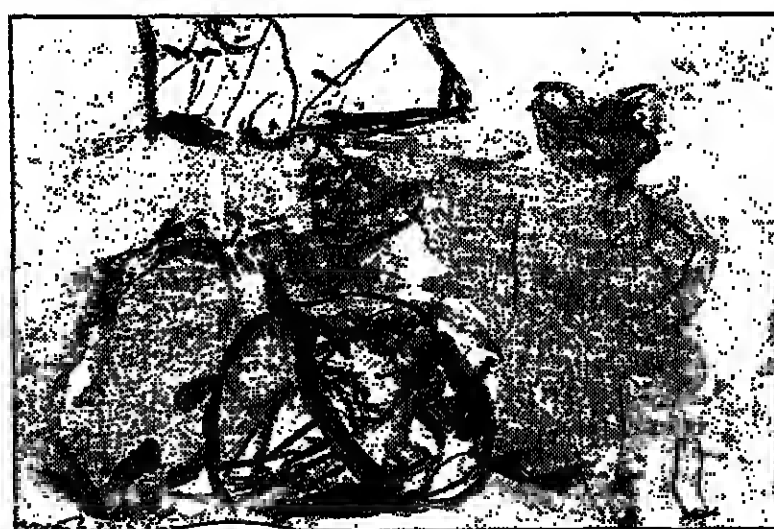
To use the refund system, when you shop you must carry a passport or something else establishing you as a visitor. In the store, you ask for the form, or "shopping check," issued by Europe Tax-Free Shopping, which comes with an envelope. The sales clerk fills out the form.

If you are in a country belonging to the European Union, you present the forms at the airport where you will finally leave the EU; the booth there will handle the slips from all the EU countries you have visited.

Get to the airport early. The government customs agent for the country you are leaving will stamp the forms. You should be prepared to show the merchandise.

After you have passed customs, look for a Tax-Free Shopping window. The refund, minus the company's fee, about 20 percent, can be in cash, a check or a credit to a credit card. If the line is too long or you are too late, the forms can be mailed in the envelopes provided.

THE ARTS GUIDE



FRANCE

Paris
Centre Georges Pompidou, tel: (1) 44-78-40-86, closed Tuesdays. To Feb. 20: "Kurt Schwitters." 300 paintings, collages, sculptures, typographical works and poems created between 1910 and 1947 by the German-born artist (1887-1948). Schwitters's work reflects various avant-garde movements until the late 1940s.
Grand Palais, tel: (1) 44-13-17-17, closed Tuesdays. Continuing/To Jan. 9: "Gustave Courbet, 1819-1878." Also, to Jan. 2: "Nicolas Poussin."
Musée d'Art Moderne, tel: (1) 47-23-81-27, closed Mondays. To March 19: "André Derain, 1880-1954: Le Peintre du Trouble Moderne." A retrospective of the works of the Fauve painter, including paintings, sculptures, works on paper, book illustrations and stage settings. The exhibition will travel to Madrid.
Musée des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, tel: (1) 47-23-61-65, closed Tuesdays. To Feb. 27: "La Chine des Officiers: Hommage à Lionel Jacob." 50 pieces documenting the evolution of Chinese culture from the neolithic period to the foundation of China.

AUSTRIA

Vienna
Kunsthofhaus, tel: (1) 521-77-404, open daily. Continuing/To Jan. 29: "Ägyptomanie: Ägypten und das Abendland." Documents the influence of Egyptian art on 18th- and 19th-century European art and design.
Wiener Staatsoper, tel: (1) 513-1513. After months of renovation, the curtain rises on Dec. 14 with Richard Strauss's "Elektra."

BRITAIN

London
Royal Academy of Arts, tel: (71) 494-5615, open daily. Continuing/To Dec. 14: "The Glory of Venice: Art in the 18th Century."

CANADA

Montreal
Musée d'Art Contemporain, tel: (514) 847-5225, closed Mondays. To Jan. 8: "The Origin of Things." Sculptures and installations by seven contemporary Montreal artists.

ITALY

Florence
Teatro Comunale di Firenze, tel: (55) 211-158. "La Bohème," directed by Jonathan Miller and conducted by Semyon Bychkov. Dec. 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22 and 23.

JAPAN

Tokyo
National Museum of Western Art, tel: (3) 3828-5131, closed Mondays. To Nov. 27: "1874: The Year of Impressionism." Tries to recreate the first Impressionist exhibition of the then unknown painters, sculptors and printmakers held in Nadar's studio.
Tokyo Department Store, tel: (3) 3477-3111, open daily. To Nov. 23: "Tsumi Takahisa." Works by the Japanese painter, illustrator and poet. Takahisa is known for depictions of melancholy-looking women.
Ueno Royal Museum, tel: (3) 3833-4191. Continuing/To Dec. 25: "The Unknown Modigliani."

THE NETHERLANDS

Amsterdam
Atelier Lia van Vugt, tel: (20) 622-1702. To Dec. 20: "Kunstje Kado." Works by three contemporary artists, Margriet de Bruin, Eddy Gheress, Björn v. Voigt.

SPAIN

Barcelona
Fundació Antoni Tàpies, tel: (3) 487-0315. To Jan. 29: "In the Spirit of Fluxus." An overview of the 1962 movement that united avant-garde artists in Europe and later in the United States. Documents the development of performance art, minimalism and Conceptual art.
Fundació La Caixa, tel: (3) 404-80-73, closed Mondays. To Jan. 22: "Kandinsky/Mondrian." Documents the parallels and differences between the two painters in their early phases. Both started as figurative painters although Kandinsky later developed an abstract style while Mondrian adopted a geometric idiom.

SWITZERLAND

Geneva
Grand Théâtre, tel: (22) 311-22-18. "La Bohème," directed by Robert Carsen and conducted by Mark Elder, with Marcus Jerome/Valentine Prolat and Mary Mills/Gwynne Geyer. Dec. 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21 and 22.
Musée Rath, tel: (22) 310-52-70, closed Mondays. To Feb. 12: "L'Esprit d'une Collection: De Caspar David Friedrich a Ferdinand Hodler." Paintings and drawings by German, Swiss and Austrian painters of the

UNITED STATES

Baltimore
Walters Art Gallery, tel: (410) 547-5000, closed Mondays. To Jan. 15: "Gauguin and the School of Pont-Aven." More than 100 works charting the development of the post-Impressionist school. Includes 16 paintings by Gauguin, and works by Emile Bernard, Paul Sérusier and Maurice Denis.
Chicago
Art Institute, tel: (312) 443-3600, open daily. To Jan. 15: "Glad Tidings of Great Joy." 15 medieval, Renaissance and Baroque works of art from the institute's permanent collection to tell the Christmas story.

NEW YORK

Metropolitan Museum of Art, tel: (212) 570-3781, closed Mondays. To Dec. 4: "The Violin Masterpieces of Giuseppe Guarneri." 15 violins from Giuseppe Guarneri, a member of the Cremona violinmaking family, who died in 1745.
Paseaden
Norton Simon Museum, tel: (818) 449-8840, closed Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays. To Sept. 10: "The Spirit of Modernism: Galka Scheyer in the New World." More than 200 works by representatives of European modernism from the collection of Galka Scheyer. Includes works by Picasso, Kokoschka, Kirchner, Nolde, Schwitters and Dix, among others.

CLOSING SOON

On Nov. 27: "Nicolas de Staël: Retrospective." Schirn Kunsthalle, Frankfurt.
On Nov. 27: "Edvard Munch und Deutschland." Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung, Frankfurt.
On Nov. 27: "Willem de Kooning." High Museum of Art, Atlanta.
On Nov. 27: "Fernand Léger 1911-1924: Le Rythme de la Vie Moderne." Kunstmuseum, Basel.
On Nov. 30: "Klimt: Dessins." Musée-Galerie de la Setta, Paris.
On Nov. 27: "Herbert Boeckl, 1894-1965." Kunsterion Bank Austria, Vienna.
On Nov. 27: "Franz Kline: Black & White 1950-1961." The Menil Collection, Houston.
On Nov. 27: "Der Frohe Kandsinsky." Brücke-Museum, Berlin.

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France Takes Another Step From Recession

PARIS — The French economy grew more slowly during the third quarter than in the previous two, but the country continued to climb out of its deepest recession since World War II, government figures released Thursday showed.

Gross domestic product grew 0.7 percent between July and September, the national statistics office INSEE said. The economy grew a revised 1.1 percent in the second quarter and 0.8 percent in the first quarter.

The third-quarter performance, driven entirely by domestic demand, was in line with economists' forecasts. The government had already said the economy would slow somewhat after a buoyant summer.

Economists said that while growth might slow further in the fourth quarter, they were confident the economy would power ahead again in 1995.

"There's no danger of a double-dip recession," said David Keeble, an economist with IBI International. "We see GDP growth of 2.1 percent for 1994, rising quite rapidly to 3.4 in 1995."

The government, counting on strong growth to help cut record unemployment of 12.7 percent before presidential elections next spring, dismissed any possible slowdown as temporary.

The economy was "on a strong growth path" and would grow at least 2.3 percent in 1994 even if the final quarter showed zero growth, an Economy Ministry official said, adding that zero growth was unlikely.

Internal demand remained strong in the third quarter, rising 0.9 percent after a 1.1 percent rise in the second quarter.

But more signs that the economy was slowing came from separate data showing household spending on manufactured goods in October falling 2.5 percent after a rise of 0.1 percent in September.

Darren Williams, an analyst with Merrill Lynch & Co., said the spending data highlighted the "still fragile nature of the French recovery and in particular the consumer sector."

Competition Tropic for EU
European Union leaders must use their summit meeting next month in Essen, Germany, to speed up structural reforms and increase competitiveness with the rest of the world, EU industrialists said in Brussels.

The European Round Table, a group of 40 leaders of the biggest companies in the 12-nation union, called for cost-cutting across a wide spectrum, including energy, transportation, telecommunications and government.

Kiev Takes Free-Market Pledge

Pragmatic Ukraine Leader Sees 'No Other Choice'

By Peter Passell
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Leonid Kuchma, president of Ukraine since July, made the rounds this week to try to persuade Americans to come to the aid of his country.

To almost one's surprise, the blunt, poised politician — once the manager of the Soviet Union's premier nuclear missile factory — argued that Ukrainians were finally ready to take the plunge to free markets.

"We have no other choice," Mr. Kuchma said.

What may be surprising is that a lot of analysts, despite their experience with unfulfilled promises by post-Soviet reformers, take his words seriously. Indeed, among Western advocates of rapid conversion to a market economy in the ex-Soviet republics, enthusiasm for Mr. Kuchma's plan borders on the unbridled.

"Ukraine," said John Mroz, director of the Institute for East-West Studies in New York, "could be the economic success story of 1995."

Before 1991, all lines of authority ran directly from Ukraine's bloated state enterprises to ministries in Moscow. That left the newly independent country of 52 million people without experience in managing the budget or the economy.

Even worse, said David Solbak, associate director of the Project on Economic Reform in Ukraine at the Kennedy School at Harvard University, the country could not draw on the "collective memory of capitalism" that the Poles and the Czechs had.

Still, when the Soviet empire collapsed, Ukraine seemed to have a reasonable shot at success. Like Russia, it was endowed with natural resources and an educated work force. Unlike Russia, it had a decent transportation system and did not need to resort to police-state

tactics to keep the peace internally.

Anything that could have gone wrong, though, did. The first nationalist government, led by Leonid M. Kravchuk, "was more interested in politics than policy," Mr. Snelbacker said.

Mr. Kravchuk propped up obsolete industries, ran gigantic deficits to support social spending and financial in-

'Ukraine could be the economic success story of 1995.'

John Mroz, director of the Institute for East-West Studies

ports — notably natural gas — with loans from other former Soviet republics.

The result was hyperinflation and a collapse in production. The World Bank estimates that prices doubled in 1991, rose 15-fold in 1992 and 41-fold in 1993.

Anders Ashund, a Swedish economist at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington and an advisor to the new government, says he believes national output has fallen by half since 1991.

As Mr. Mroz baldly puts it: "Ukraine was desperate for change, on the verge of economic and political collapse."

And change is what it is about to get. At first, Mr. Kuchma hardly seemed the sort to break the crucible. He was after all a man, in Mr. Mroz's words, from "the pinnacle of the military-industrial complex." But Westerners underestimated his pragmatism and political skill.

Apparently with little direct knowledge of economics, Mr. Kuchma surrounded himself with competent technocrats. Equally important, he alternately

bullied and flattered the parliamentary opposition into submission.

Mr. Kuchma's economic policies look like an amalgam of the shock therapy imposed in Poland in 1990 and the rapid privatization under way in Russia. Prices have been decoupled.

And thanks to the quiet resistance of the central bank in the waning months of the Kravchuk administration, inflation is down to a level that is almost tolerable.

The next steps are more ambitious. One goal is to curb industrial credit, allowing nonmonopoly enterprises to profit from deregulation so that markets can determine the survivors.

Another is to phase out the budget deficit, largely by eliminating subsidies. Still another is to raise domestic energy prices and eliminate barriers to exports. All these measures are to be buttressed by privatization financed by vouchers.

Mr. Ashund, who has seen equally grand plans scaled back in Russia, is nonetheless optimistic about Ukraine's dash for capitalism. For one thing, he argues, the collapse of obsolete industry has virtually run its course. For another, the "social fabric is pretty much intact."

The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank stand prepared to finance a good portion of the stabilization effort.

What is unclear, however, is whether the rich industrialized countries will do their part: Neither the United States nor the European Union seems inclined to lend more than token sums for the effort.

Mr. Kuchma, who recently rammed through legislation confirming the promise by Ukraine to dismantle its strategic nuclear weapons, makes no secret of his frustration. This may be the last chance for a long time, he suggests, to create a prosperous Ukraine that can anchor stability in Eastern Europe.

Investor's Europe

Frankfurt DAX	London FTSE 100 Index	Paris CAC 40
2200	3300	2200
2000	3100	2000
1800	2900	1800
1600	2700	1600
1400	2500	1400
1200	2300	1200
1000	2100	1000
800	1900	800
600	1700	600
400	1500	400
200	1300	200
0	1100	0

Exchange	Index	Thursday Close	Prev. Close	% Change
Amsterdam	AEX	406.81	402.00	+1.20
Brussels	Stock Index	7,185.83	7,166.16	+0.27
Frankfurt	DAX	2,056.97	2,033.81	+1.11
Frankfurt	FAZ	771.38	768.48	+0.38
Helsinki	HEX	1,862.16	1,840.25	+1.19
London	Financial Times 30	2,327.00	2,323.80	+0.14
London	FTSE 100	3,036.60	3,027.80	+0.29
Madrid	General Index	301.65	299.72	+0.64
Milan	MISTEL	1001.8	995.00	+0.62
Paris	CAC 40	1,934.68	1,898.09	+1.92
Stockholm	Afaersvaerden	1,814.61	1,800.14	+1.29
Vienna	Stock Index	419.41	418.80	+0.15
Zurich	SBS	910.88	908.97	+0.76

Sources: Reuters, AFP International Herald Tribune

Very briefly:

- Britain plans to privatize Railtrack, which owns and operates the rail infrastructure, by April 1997, in what will be one of the country's largest-ever stock offerings, the transport secretary said.
- Porsche AG said higher sales narrowed its loss for the year ended July 31 by 37 percent, to 150 million Deutsche marks (\$97 million). Volkswagen AG said it would offer early retirement to about 2,000 workers by year-end.
- Allied Domeq PLC, a British food and drinks company, reported a 16 percent jump, to £310 million (\$487 million), in pretax profit for the 28 weeks to mid-September, under new accounting procedures.
- Mo och Domsjö AB, a Swedish paper producer, said it returned to profitability in the first nine months of the year because sales and paper prices increased and costs were tightly controlled. Pretax profit was 1.01 billion kronor (\$137 million).
- Pierre Guichet, the chairman of the French telecommunications firm Alcatel CIT SA, will stay in jail until the end of month while an investigation into charges of overbidding France Telecom SA is completed, a spokesman said.
- Henkel KGA, a German chemical company, said higher investment income and lower costs raised pretax profit 15 percent, to 485 million DM, in the first nine months from a year earlier.
- Hoechst AG and Bayer AG, German chemical industry rivals, have agreed to pool their textile dyestuff operations in a 50-50 joint venture expected to have sales of 2 billion DM.

Bloomberg, AFP, Reuters

Dollar Steady As Pound Falls

Bloomberg Business News

LONDON — The dollar was little changed in Europe Thursday in light trading on the American Thanksgiving holiday.

The pound, which ended at \$1.5619, also was quoted against the Deutsche mark at 2.4316 DM, its lowest since Oct. 21.

The dollar closed at 1.5585 DM, little changed from 1.5574 DM early in the session, and at 98.43 yen.

CHIP: An Intel Microprocessor Has a Math Problem

Continued from Page 13
do," said David Bell, the researcher. "But when we hear and see that there are problems, that puts a question mark on the results."

In addition to its growing role in PCs, the Pentium chip is used in a number of larger computers that harness individual chips to work in tandem, creating supercomputer power. This technique, known as parallel processing, is used in weather forecasting, automotive and airplane design, and molecular engineering.

Intel said the problem came to its attention in June and was

corrected then, at the design stage. That change took some time to make its way through the chip production process, and Intel has only recently begun providing its largest customers with the revised chips, the company said.

Intel acknowledged that the flaw could affect scientific and engineering users in rare cases. Stephen L. Smith, the company's engineering manager for the Pentium, said discussions were under way with scientists and engineers.

Some computer users said they believed that Intel had not acted quickly enough after discovering the error.

"Intel has known about this since the summer, why didn't they tell anyone?" asked Andrew Schulman, the author of a series of technical books on PCs.

The company said that after it discovered the problem this summer, it ran months of simulations of different applications, with the help of outside experts, to determine whether the problem was serious.

The error was made public this month after Thomas Nicely, a mathematics professor at Lynchburg College in Virginia, sent an electronic-mail message to several colleagues, asking them to check their machines for the error.

TOKYO: Analysts Are in Demand

Continued from Page 13

ries could undermine the ability of a research staff to function as a team.

"I don't have so much concern about the numbers of people who come through here as the quality of the people we have," he said.

Like other European brokerage concerns here, however, Jardine Fleming has chosen to hire relatively young, less expensive but promising analysts and train them for a couple of years. The only alternatives are to bring in people from overseas, who usually cannot speak or read Japanese, or to snap up established players at great expense and hope they continue to perform.

"Unfortunately, we've become the training ground for the American companies," said Mario Matl, branch manager for Kleinwort Benson.

The bidding war has arisen just as foreign investment in Tokyo stocks, active earlier in the year, has been waning. The Nikkei stock index is trading water at just less than half the peak it hit in December 1989, and average turnover is far below the level most houses need to cover fixed costs.

Revenues have declined so far that some brokers, including W.J. Carr, County Natwest and Kidder, Peabody & Co., have withdrawn from equities trading in Tokyo over the past two years.

EUROPEAN FUTURES

Nov. 24

Metals

Contract	High	Low	Close	Change
ALUMINUM (1000 lbs)	192.00	191.00	191.50	+0.50
COPPER (1000 lbs)	202.00	201.00	201.50	+0.50
LEAD (1000 lbs)	112.00	111.00	111.50	+0.50
NICKEL (1000 lbs)	112.00	111.00	111.50	+0.50
SILVER (1000 lbs)	112.00	111.00	111.50	+0.50
ZINC (1000 lbs)	112.00	111.00	111.50	+0.50

Financial

Contract	High	Low	Close	Change
3-MONTH EURO (100M)	112.00	111.00	111.50	+0.50
3-MONTH JPM (100M)	112.00	111.00	111.50	+0.50
3-MONTH LLOY (100M)	112.00	111.00	111.50	+0.50
3-MONTH NAB (100M)	112.00	111.00	111.50	+0.50
3-MONTH RAB (100M)	112.00	111.00	111.50	+0.50
3-MONTH SBC (100M)	112.00	111.00	111.50	+0.50

CHIPS

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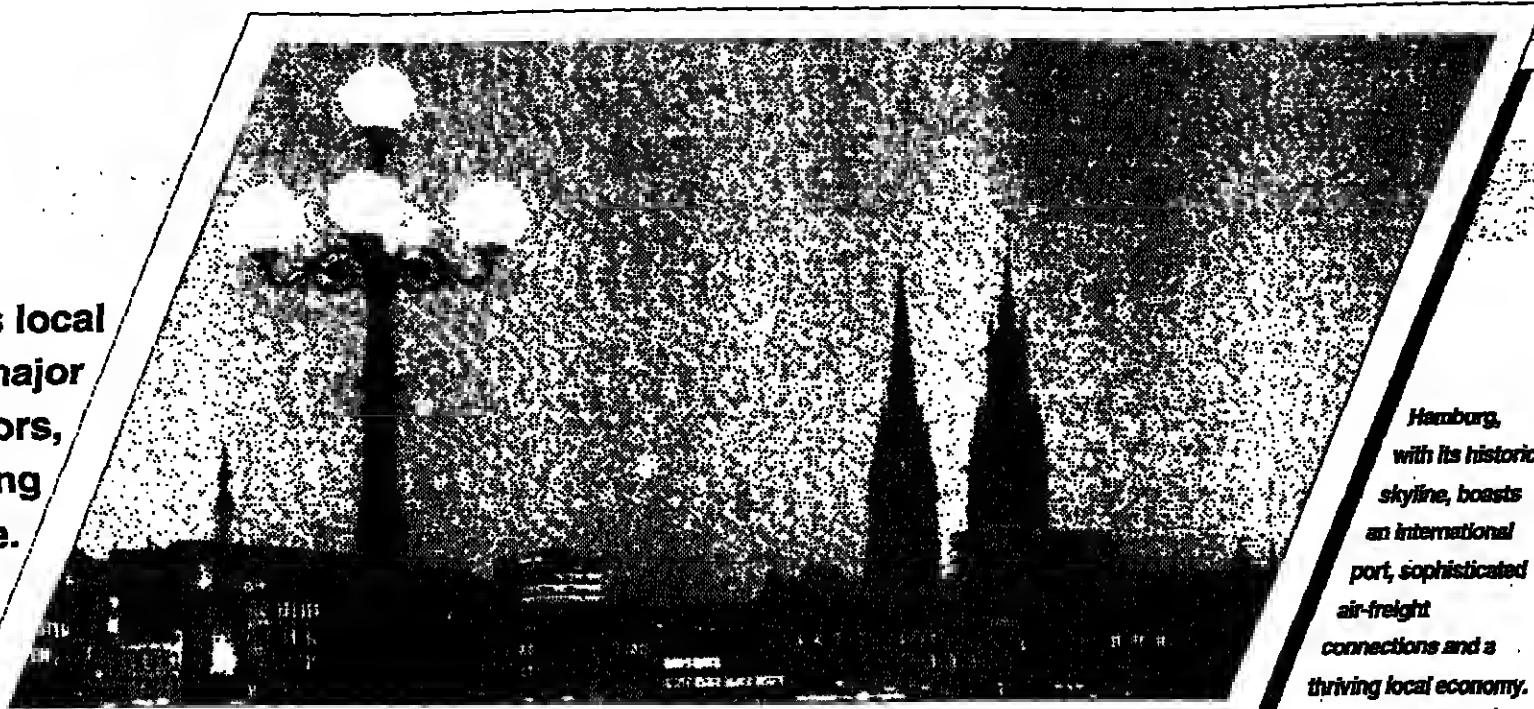
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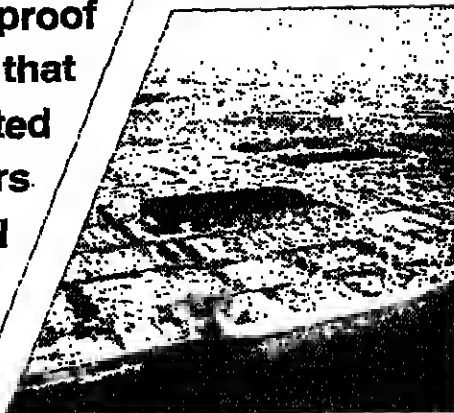
GERMANY HAMBURG

Hamburg has local industries in 11 major economic sectors, each employing over 10,000 people.

The city-state's strategies have brought about a recession-proof economy that has attracted investors from all over the world.



Hamburg, with its historic skyline, boasts an international port, sophisticated air-freight connections and a thriving local economy.



A LONG-TERM, GLOBAL APPROACH TO INVESTMENT

A broad-based strategy has proven effective.

Huge investments make the front pages of the world's newspapers and create jobs by the thousands. That is why most state and municipal business-development corporations focus their efforts on securing these single-shot "economy boosters," resulting in fierce competition for them.

Recent studies have shown that huge investments are more often announced than actually carried out, and even when they are implemented, often do not succeed as well as predicted.

City planners traditionally concentrate on building up one or two glamorous indus-

represented an all-time record and was nearly twice as much as the previous year's strong result.

Step-two investment Typically, it was for "step two or step three investments," explains Thomas Erich, senior investment counselor at HWF. "These investments generally represented an upgrading of existing facilities by electronics producers, skilled trade and technical services firms, and media and medical operations."

As sources of investment, certain countries - including Japan and the United States - are prized by business development corporations, which tend to focus on them to the exclusion of others.

Not HWF. "While we've been successful in facilitating Japanese and American investment in our city-state, these are just two of the many countries at which we've targeted our efforts," says Mr. Didden.

This policy has helped to make Hamburg Germany's most disparate international business community, with a particularly strong and fast-growing presence in Asia. In 1994, some 87 non-German companies set up shop in the city-state, very near 1992-93's record totals.

To date, Hamburg has 3,000 non-German companies, including such sizable "new Asian" contingents as those from Indonesia, Korea, Hong Kong and - leading the pack - the Peoples' Republic of China, along with a large influx of companies from Central and Eastern Europe.

Port-driven expansion "To be fair, this diversity has not entirely been a result of concerted, deliberate actions. It is something of a by-product arising from the city's unique givens," Mr. Didden says. "This diversity has, in fact, been 'port-driven'." One-tenth of Germany's trade with the rest of the world (and Germany is the world's second-largest trading nation) passes through Hamburg, most of it through the port.

The port's position of primacy in Germany's international trade has been further consolidated over the past few years. In 1993, the port's throughput of 65.9 million tons set yet another record. The port registered a 12.3 percent gain, also a record, in container traffic.

This trend is gathering strength in 1994. For the first half of the year, Hamburg's 14.5 percent-plus in throughput amounted to a gain of 4.2 million tons, representing just under half of the entire country's increase during the period. Main sources of growth: container trade with China and Russia, according to trade reports.

With all this global trade, it is not surprising that the Port of Hamburg has served as many international trading companies' point of arrival in the city. For practical reasons, many of these companies have then upgraded their operations into sales offices, assembly plants and finally production facilities. "You can almost trace this progress in terms of distance from the quays and the Freihafen (the city's free port) itself," says Mr. Didden, adding, "with our long-time foreigners now being located in our belt of technology and business parks on the city's outer rim."

RESEARCH: HIGH TECH AND HIGHLY PRODUCTIVE LABS

State-of-the-art centers are used by many companies.

Research facilities are expensive to build and to run. They are used for only a fraction of each working day, and many systems remain idle for hours, even weeks. It is not surprising that the Deutsche Elektronen-Synchrotronstrahlung (Desy for short) has been pioneering a "rent-a-lab" approach in Germany during the last year.

Industrial companies are offered the use of Desy's Hasylab (short for Hamburg Synchrotron Laboratory) when it is not in use by staff researchers. Instead of flat payments, the corporate users are asked to provide funding support for the lab's operations. The idea of sharing lab space and costs has proven extremely popular. Wacker-Chemie, Germany's largest producer of chip-grade silicon, has entered into an extensive

working arrangement to use Hasylab, as has a Danish producer of power plant "scrubbers."

In 1993, 180 research institutes located in 20 countries used Hasylab, which was founded in 1979, some 15 years after Desy itself was set up. Today, Desy anchors an R&D community comprising 235 research and technology transfer institutes of all kinds.

The Deutsches Klimarechenzentrum (DKRZ, German center for computer-based research into the environment) is one of these institutes. Using the most powerful computer in Germany, the DKRZ coordinates the research work and operations of a pan-European climate-monitoring network. It will soon upgrade its work to enable it to issue the Continent's most detailed weather forecasts.

tries - current favorites are microelectronics or communications systems - rather than encouraging a broad range of activities.

Broad range of businesses Hamburg's municipal Wirtschaftsbehörde (Economic Authority) and HWF (Hamburgische Gesellschaft für Wirtschaftsförderung, or economic development corporation) have taken a radically different approach. They have set their sights on attracting a broad range of businesses from a broad range of countries. Most importantly, they have taken a realistic, step-by-step approach to the investment process itself.

"Most successful investments start out very small, as a sales office or as a one-person company, and then work up to being major production and trading operations," says Dietmar Didden, HWF's managing director, adding, "This is especially true of foreign investors, who first have to test the waters of their new markets before committing huge amounts of resources."

The overall result of the city-state's approach seems to have been a recession-proof local economy. Over the last five years, Hamburg has been Germany's fastest-growing state, even managing to scrape through the recession, called the country's worst in the last five decades, with a minimal 0.3 percent downturn in annual rate of GDP. This year, in a vigorous turnaround, the city-state is set to record a 2.7 percent GDP growth.

Heavy investment Hamburg has local industries in 11 major economic sectors (each employing more than 10,000 people), including media, software, finance houses, construction, and even the chemical and electronics industries.

Another yield from HWF's policy has been heavy amounts of investment. The more than 1 billion Deutsche marks recorded in long-term capital allocations in the 1994 financial year (ending August 31) by the city-state's private sector



The University Hospital in Hamburg, which has modern diagnostic facilities.

The place to be and to be seen in Hamburg

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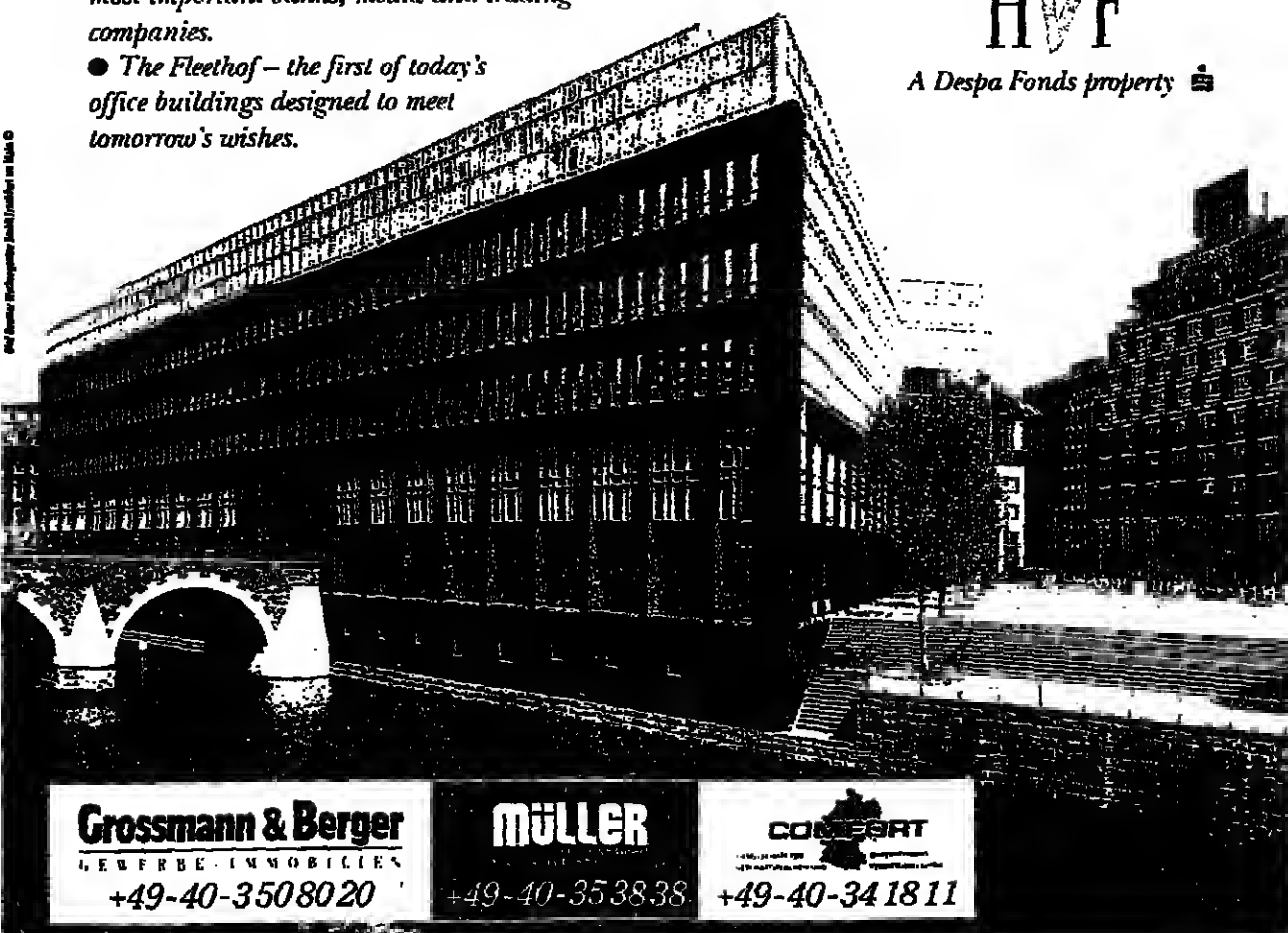
● It has a sensational location, in the heart of downtown Hamburg. It is situated on the city's picturesque Alsterfleet inland waterway, which connects the city's harbour and the Alster lakes. Vis à vis is one of Hamburg's main shopping streets, the Neuer Wall. Very close by are the city's most important banks, media and trading companies.

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THE CITY-STATE OF HAMBURG

Area: 755 square kilometers - Population: 1.67 million - Mayor/Governor: Henning Voscherau

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TRADE FAIRS MARKETED AS INFORMATION EVENTS

Expansion stems from development of events and services abroad.

The label "trade-fair authority" does not even begin to describe the work of such organizations as Hamburg Messe und Congress GmbH. Hamburg Messe does, of course, still hold trade fairs; events scheduled for 1995 are to begin with REISEN Hamburg (travel market) in February and end with Hanse-Börse '95 (fossils, rocks and the like) in December. By carefully tailoring its events to fit markets and demand, Hamburg Messe is successful in its original trade-fair function. In fact, Hamburg Messe's three major autumn events in 1994 set all-time individual records for visitor and exhibitor attendance.

The associated congresses, workshops and "information" displays staged in conjunction with each of these events are also setting records and greatly expanding the organization's trade-fair functions. In this regard, Hamburg Messe is by no means unique.

"All of Germany's trade-fair authorities are now living more from the quality of market information disseminated through the fair than the quantity of goods displayed at them," points out Professor Franz Zeithammer, president of Hamburg Messe.

The bulk of the recent expansion undertaken by Germany's trade-fair authorities has stemmed from the development of events and services abroad, specifically in Asia and Central and Eastern Europe.

In the Peoples' Republic of China, for instance, Hamburg Messe supplied the ideas and the know-how to Chiao's "Portex," the harbor technologies event launched in 1987 and to be held for the fourth time in Shanghai in early December. Hamburg Messe has also successfully created events in St. Petersburg and Prague.

Perhaps the unwieldy "international trade-fair organizer and market developer" is the appropriate job description for the organization. Even this, however, does not encompass a whole sector of its activities, particularly concerning Asian markets.

Asia, until very recently, has been very much the unknown continent for most of Germany's business community, despite the many high-budget projects carried out there by German companies and the ever-rising volume of trade conducted by

German companies in the area.

Knowledge of Asian markets has been limited in Hamburg, too, even though the city probably knows Asia better than most European cities do. The city's import-exporters had a total trading volume of 17 billion Deutsche marks (\$10.9 billion) with Asian customers in 1993, up around 4 percent over 1992. And a growing number of Asian companies - around 400 - have established themselves in Hamburg.

"It's not at all a question of ignorance, but rather that there's an increasing amount to know," says Mr. Zeithammer, adding: "Each year, thousands of new companies are founded in Asia. Like their predecessors, they quickly progress from being single-family operations to major producers and distributors. This rise to the top is also taking place on the regional level. Today, there are 20 individual areas in China that form internationally sized markets, as opposed to only four or five several years ago."

"Hence the proliferation of product exhibitions, which provide compact, comprehensive introductions to regions, their companies and industrial sectors. For identical reasons, these exhibitions are popular in Central and Eastern Europe, where a whole new generation of companies has been founded and is now rapidly maturing."

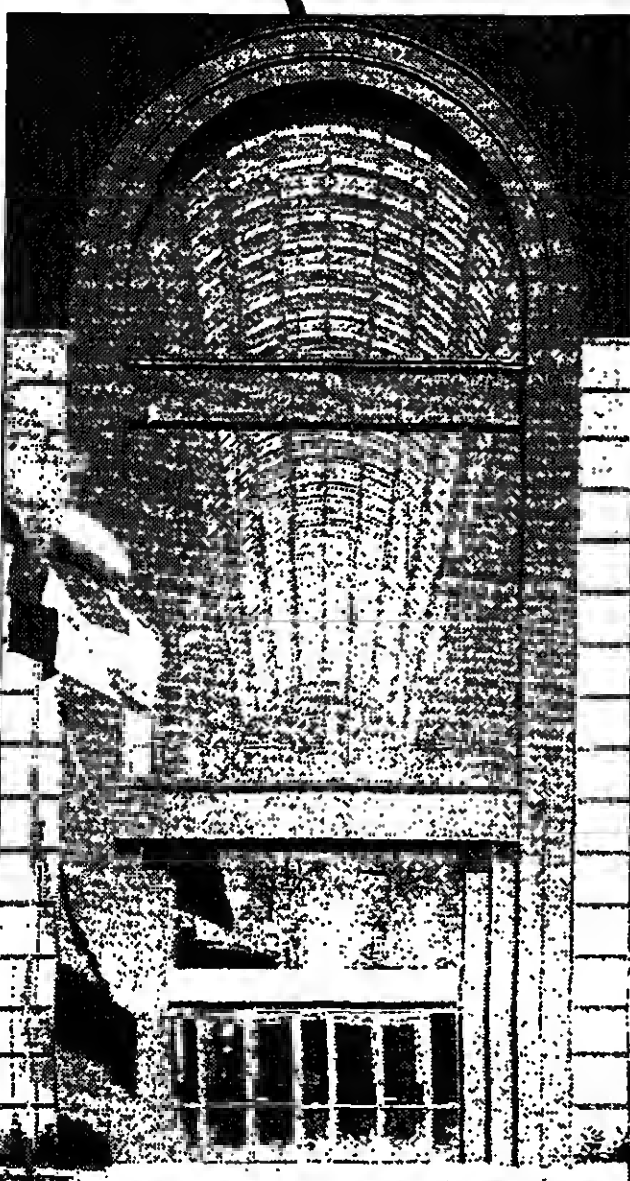
Since 1986, Hamburg Messe has staged both trade fairs and product exhibitions with and for its Asian partners, either as "stand-alone" events or as part of its international fairs, in both Hamburg and abroad.

In 1994, in addition to its event in Shanghai, the authority held China Products Expo '94, SHANGTEC and Asia Expo in Hamburg; Hamburg Messe's SMM (Shipbuilding, Machinery and Marine Technology Exhibition and Conference) also featured a Chinese presence.

Fast-developing industrial and geographic sectors are by no means the exclusive preserve of Asia or Eastern Europe. America is still the land of most "breakthrough" activities, with today's Silicon Valleys located everywhere from the Northwest to North Carolina. And the Hamburg trade-fair authority sees a major role for itself in conjunction with high-

tech U.S. companies.

"That's another fascinating phenomenon - the ability of the American economy to repeatedly produce yet another crop of



Hamburg's trade-fair facilities house many international shows each year.

high-tech companies," says Mr. Zeithammer.

"As these companies are very long on potential but very short on international exposure, distribution systems and contacts, Europe's trade fairs are obviously an appropriate platform for their first steps on the world market."

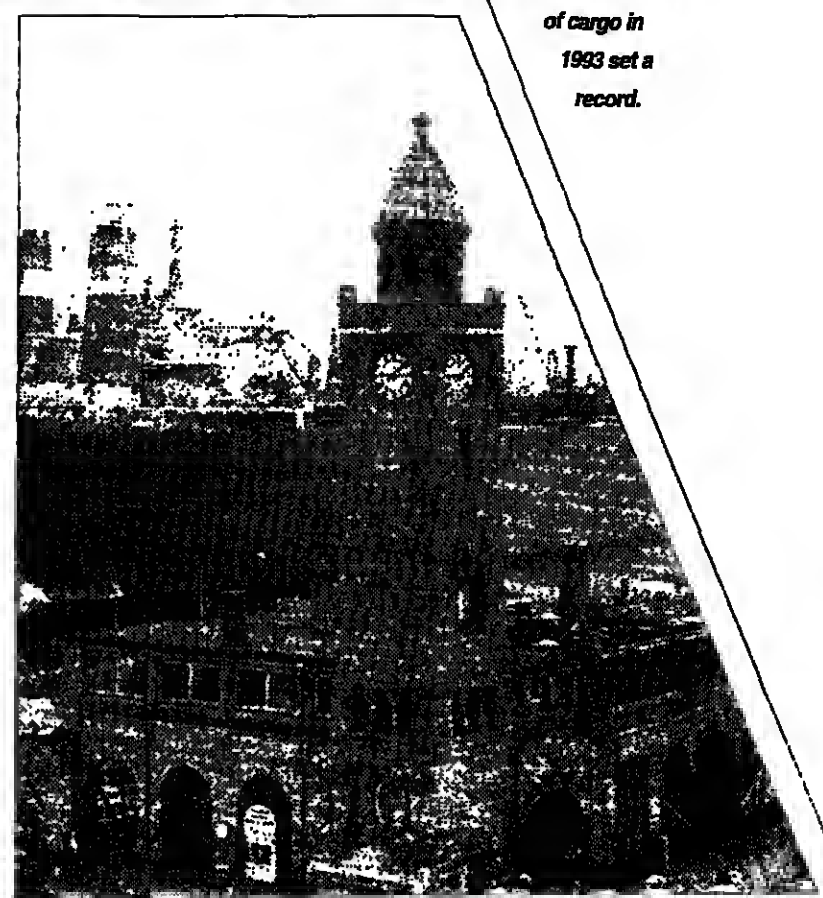
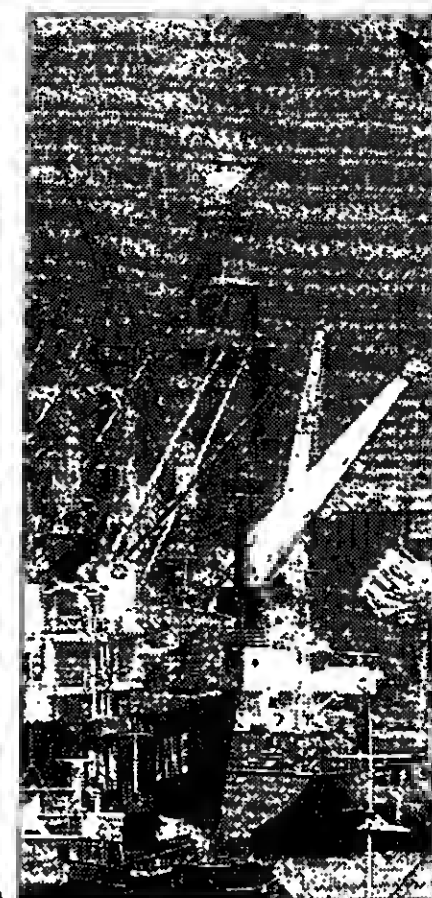
To serve these companies, Hamburg Messe has set up a representative office in the United States.

Hamburg Messe has only 90,000 square meters of covered floor space, small by German standards and for an organization with such an international range of activities, ranked in the top 20 of the world's trade-fair authorities.

"I see a relation between our compactness and our willingness to take on new niches and new markets," Mr. Zeithammer says. "Massive facilities require massive events to fill them on a regular basis, predetermining their authorities' course of actions. We let the markets determine our line-up and sites of actions."

But what about a more accurate label for the kind of activities Hamburg Messe organizes? One suggestion: International Market Information Events.

"Sounds a bit like a high-level seminar or briefing, but it's not bad," Mr. Zeithammer says diplomatically, adding: "Market information is the fare of trade."



Hamburg's shopping arcades, such as the one in the Hanseviertel (top left), attract strollers; within walking distance from the city's heart is the lively international port (below), whose throughput of 69.5 million tons of cargo in 1993 set a record.

CITY IS CULTURE LOVERS' DELIGHT

From scenic walks to theater, clubs and dawn markets, the city has something to offer 24 hours a day.

Germans tend to divide their cities into "oversized villages" and "world cities," of which there are two widely agreed-on examples in the country: Berlin and Hamburg. The criteria of assessment are simple: What time does the city close down and open up? The latter a city's Kneipen (the equivalent of "clubs") stay open and the earlier you can breakfast, the more worldly the city is considered to be.

According to these criteria, Hamburg is as worldly as they come: The night blends into breakfast, which leads to the Fischmarkt (fish market) at around 5 A.M.

The Fischmarkt is strategically located on the Elbe river, across the water from Hamburg's harbor. West of its fish, the Altonaer Fischereihafen. Directly behind it is the St. Pauli quarter and its main drag, the Reeperbahn, until recently the exclusive preserve of pleasure-deprived sailors and thrill-seeking tourists.

Breakfast at the market
The market is a good vantage point from which to take in the dawn parade of stately ships making their way to the North Sea, around 100 kilometers away.

After a leisurely breakfast, it is time to head a few hundred meters to the east, to the array of futuristic buildings clustered between the Speicherstadt (islands lined with 19th-century brick and gabled warehouses) and Binnenalster lake.

These buildings, owned by the Gruener & Jahr, Spiegel Verlag, Zurich Insurance and the city's other media and financial giants,

are at their best in the early morning, when the bustle of briskly striding commuters nicely counterpoints the abstract architecture of the buildings themselves.

At 10 A.M. it is time for the shopping arcades. The first, Alsterarkaden, was built in the 19th century and was patterned after those in Brussels, Paris and Milan. There are now a dozen of these attractive, high-priced inner-city malls, each more opulent than its predecessors. The most recent - and most extravagant - is the Alsterpavillon.

After lunch in one of the dozens of good restaurants in the lively Hanseviertel pedestrian zone - preferably on an outside terrace, if Hamburg's notoriously unreliable weather permits - it is time to explore the city's museums. Nearly all are located in Victorian buildings, some of which were originally industrial facilities and warehouses, today magnificently restored to house both permanent and visiting collections.

Museum-hopping
"Our guests tend to start their museum-hopping in the Hamburger Kunsthalle," says Kathrin Barthold of Hamburg's Hotel Steigenberger, "before proceeding to the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe or to the Ernst Barlach house."

After so much food, architecture and culture, it is a good idea to take a late-afternoon walk or go for a boat ride on the stately Alster, a 182-hectare (450-acre) lake that serves as Hamburg's focal point and the nexus for many of its most attractive neighborhoods, including Rotherbaum, Har-



The Hotel Steigenberger in the city center has a picturesque setting on a canal.

vestehude and Winterhude. Featuring a "necklace" of ponds and streams, the city's downtown greenbelt stretches in a semicircle from the Landungsbrücken (best known as the cruise ship docking pier) on the Elbe. In the past, there were fortified walls and moats here, and now the semicircle houses the city's trade-fair grounds and the Planten und Blomen botanical gardens before meeting the southern tip of the Alster.

Another possibility is to head a few kilometers west and stroll along the north bank of the Elbe in the Blankenese neighborhood. One of Europe's most elegant, exclusive communities, Blankenese is beautifully landscaped and has a Mediterranean look.

"Taking a boat ride along the Fleet is becoming more and more popular," says Ms. Barthold. She should know. The Hotel Steigenberger is situated on an "island" formed by these local versions of Venice's canals.

An evening of high culture can be spent at the Staatsoper, which is home to the city's opera ensemble

and its ballet, headed by the widely acclaimed John Neumeier. The Musikhalle is a stronghold of classical music.

Classical theater (in often very modernistic versions) is provided by the Deutsches Schauspielhaus, Hamburger Kammerspiele and the Thalia Theater. The Thalia is generally considered the best "serious" avant-garde theater in Germany. The Kampnagelfabrik is a well known culture center.

Between the last curtain calls and the arrival of the first loads of fresh fish at the Fischmarkt is the time to spend a few hours in Hamburg's neighborhood clubs, whether the neighborhood is the young and professional Eppendorf, the recently gentrified, film-loving Altona or the Schanzenviertel, a meeting place for students and free spirits. An important update: "No one ever thought it would happen, but the Reeperbahn and such clubs as Docks, the Mojo Club and the Grosse Freiheit are where the 'scene' now congregates," says Tilman Westecker, Hamburg-based TV producer.

'HAMBURG DISCOUNT' HELPS COMPANIES

Local industry cites Hamburg's international outlook.

Based on per capita income, Hamburg is the richest political entity in Europe. Hamburg is also home to Otto Versand, the world's largest mail-order company; Beiersdorf AG, the leading producer of cosmetics and consumer goods; Deutsche Unilever and some 1,460 other profit-minded producers.

Since high incomes generally mean high wages, and since those are the bane of profitability, the question arises: How do Hamburg's companies do it?

The answer lies in what local manufacturers refer to as the "Hamburg discount." Companies report that having facilities near Hamburg's port makes product shipping costs lower for them than elsewhere in Germany. Prices of fuel oils, which are refined in the city,

as well as prices of a number of other raw materials are also lower. And the large supply of highly qualified personnel, international finance houses and other services also keeps down what economists refer to as "search costs."

Greater Hamburg is composed of the city itself and adjoining areas in the states of Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein, both with the lowest wage and property costs in Western Germany. In the city itself, redevelopment projects have created a "zone of availability and affordability" (as it was recently termed by a city business development official) ringing the downtown business district.

'Hamburg split'
Many companies, including

a large number of Japanese and American investors, have set up what is referred to as the "Hamburg split," in which their central administrative offices and selected key operations (such as R&D or final finishing) are located downtown, while the rest of the company's operations, including space-intensive manufacturing facilities, are set up in the broad expanses of Hamburg's periphery and in such suburban towns as Elmshorn or Norderstedt.

Thanks to these "splits," Schleswig-Holstein's portion of greater Hamburg has become the fastest-growing part of a fast-growing state. Such splits have been deliberately promoted by the city-state's government, which has concluded and implemented extensive business development

agreements with Schleswig-Holstein.

These have included the staging of joint marketing campaigns and the pooling of site and services information.

Integrated business area
These splits stem from a simple fact: International companies view greater Hamburg as a single, integrated business area, as do greater Hamburg's various municipal and state governments.

This international outlook has caused Hamburg's manufacturing community to develop in interesting ways. Many of today's major manufacturers were once trading operations, a complete reversal of the standard scenario, in which trading operations are the final area entered into by manufacturers.

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SPORTS

The View From Anne Boleyn's Window, Including the Bad Bounces

By Ian Thomsen

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — I must admit to worrying that the game might be stuffy and self-defeating.

"Imagine this is a church wall in a French or English medieval town," said the organizer, Richard Adams, pointing to the indoor court below.

It's easy to imagine. Two men, dressed in modern whites, are playing real tennis in the same medieval courtyard. Of course, its main features — the slanting roof, the jutting of walls — have been draped and plastered over. It is a tennis court with nooks and crannies and a net drooping to the specifications of the oct hung in exactly across someone's lawn seven centuries ago.

Surrounding the court are several windows covered with netting, and points are awarded for hitting into some of them. In the corner, behind the left shoulder of the receiving player, is another such window, known as the grille.

"Before she got her head taken off, old Anne Boleyn used to peek out through that window to watch Henry VIII playing," Adams said. "He was supposed to have

been good. Must have been before he put on the weight."

There were more than 700 real tennis courts in France before the revolution brought most of them down. Only three have survived, with 35 more in play around the world, most of them in Britain, and all with the windows and artificial roofs built in.

The high walls of this one, at The Queen's Club, are painted black, absorbing the lighting overhead and bringing out the shadows properly as a field of 24 men play for the British Open championship, part of the "grand slam" of real tennis. The tournament, surprisingly, is only 17 years old. Anne Boleyn's window has been covered by a blue wooden board advertising British Land, the sponsor.

The winner will earn £2,000 (\$3,150). "You need to be able to live on the poverty line," said the No. 1 seed, Robert Fahey, a 26-year-old Australian who woo the world championship in an upset.

As previous world champion, the 39-year-old Australian Wayne Davies had earned the right to invite challengers to his club in New York, where he is the head professional. His court is slightly larger

than the others, and he had learned how to spin the ball off of its walls. No one in seven years had been able to relieve him of the world championship when Fahey began training last spring to do just that.

"He plays a lawn tennis style game, which we both play," Fahey said. "When I

hedge have been held only 108 times.

"The ball's probably quite similar to the one they used to use; not quite as heavy and a little bit bigger maybe," Fahey went on. "The racket hasn't changed. It's one of the only games where it's easy to compare the old champions with the new ones."

'Before she got her head taken off, old Anne Boleyn used to peek out through that window to watch Henry VIII playing.'

Richard Adams, tournament organizer.

started playing, he was the best, so I tried to play the way he did."

By "lawn tennis style" he meant a more powerful game, as opposed to the traditional style of placement and backspin. Fahey became the youngest world champion in history, which means something in this sport. "This is the oldest world championship of any sport ongoing," he said. "The world title has been sort of continuous for something like 500 years."

The lawn tennis championships at Wim-

bledon have been held only 108 times. "The ball's probably quite similar to the one they used to use; not quite as heavy and a little bit bigger maybe," Fahey went on. "The racket hasn't changed. It's one of the only games where it's easy to compare the old champions with the new ones."

balls and basketballs in the days before television came along and ruined everything. The small head of the racket is lopsided, too, shaped like a hand, supposedly, but more resembling a teardrop. Leaned up simply against a wall, the racket has the personality of the chair in Van Gogh's bedroom. More powerful graphite rackets have been outlawed for fear they would change the game.

It all fits together wonderfully. If Wimbledon is becoming less of a joy and more of a habit — unhappy, staccato points contested by two self-important players — then this is the real game, as real as the everyday job of adapting oneself to a new house. The reality is that bad bounces happen all the time. The skill is to pounce on them, perhaps even to enjoy them. There are no McEnroes here — two outbursts of swearing or ball/racket throwing and you're out. The marker, or umpire, is always a fellow player.

As only 38 courts remain in play, with many running in the neighborhood of \$750,000, it still seems the domain of the rich. For social purposes, a prospective

player wouldn't take up real tennis unless he felt comfortable mixing with that crowd. Adams, who is a strategic accountant for Microsoft, and his friend, Julie Russell-Carter, a marketing executive for a dental group, fulfilled a dream of playing on every court in the world over the last year and found there are all types of foolishness.

Old rich or new rich — who's the bigger snob? The 20-something millionaire in all-whites who thinks he's got the gift because the public's been sold on lawn tennis? Or his peer in all-whites who can't earn more than \$3,000 this week for hitting a ball through Anne Boleyn's window?

"It's the old rich in America," Adams said with a roll of the eyes.

"It's the Racquet Club in New York," Russell-Carter added. "They don't allow women there. They don't even smile about it. You'd think people would at least make some kind of joke about it, or tell you they're uncomfortable about the rule. But they put you in a small room and say you can wait in there."

There you have it.

Skiers' Coldness To Waiver Melts

By Ken Shulman

Special to the Herald Tribune

FLORENCE — It is not unlike the waiver printed on the back of every lift ticket, and the message is equally clear: You ski at your own risk.

As unusually temperate European weather wiped out the first two races of the men's World Cup season, a new waiver promoted by race organizers, and submitted to both male and female athletes for approval, has set the ski world simmering.

The waiver, known on the circuit as the "athlete's declaration," was born in Rio de Janeiro at the annual June congress of the International Ski Federation, or FIS. In a wide-ranging revision of its existing regulations, the federation decided that only athletes in possession of a valid FIS license could compete on the World Cup circuit.

And there was the rub. Because, as stated clearly in article 206.2 of the new FIS regulation, "The FIS license will be issued exclusively to those athletes who have personally signed the request form and the athlete's declaration."

Either sign or stay away, the athletes have been told. And after an initial brave resistance, it appears that the skiers' resolve is beginning to melt.

The impetus for the risk waiver was generated by the World Cup resorts that host the various events. These organizers were concerned about their liability in the case of the injury or death of one of the competitors.

Last January, the Austrian skier Ulrich Maier was killed during a downhill race in Garmisch, Germany. An initial analysis of the film of the acci-

dent seemed to indicate that Maier had hit her head on a wooden post protecting an electric timing device that organizers had placed beside the course. Hubert Schweighofer, Maier's companion and the father of the couple's daughter, sued the Garmisch resort for negligence.

In October, a Munich court dismissed Schweighofer's suit, on the ground that the court had not discovered any negligence on the part of the Garmisch resort. The Munich magistrate, Rüdiger Hödl, added that Maier had not hit her head on the timing post, but rather on a pile of snow on the border of the race course. Schweighofer, calling the ruling "incomprehensible and scandalous," said he would appeal the decision.

The new FIS regulation was ratified in October by all of the national ski federations except Italy's, translated into the various national languages and submitted to the athletes for signature.

The mandatory risk waiver sent out shock waves among the athletes on the World Cup circuit. Alberto Tomba, the Italian slalom star and three-time Olympic gold medalist, was one of the first skiers to voice his reservations, along with a teammate, Peter Runggaldier. Sweden's Pernilla Wiberg, runner-up in last year's women's World Cup standings and a gold medal winner in the combined event at Lillehammer, called the measure "blackmail," but said she would sign the document.

Several athletes and federation officials protested the timing of the measure, arguing they had not been allowed enough time to read and discuss the document. The Swedish federa-



WARMING UP — The French-bred Hernando, entered in Sunday's \$4 million Japan Cup, being taken for a gallop Thursday by Cash Asmussen. The odds-on favorites are expected to be France's Apple Tree and the Brazilian-bred Sandipit.

tion's president, Johan Sagner, has said that he will ask for an extension in order to allow federation lawyers to analyze the regulation and explain it to Swedish athletes.

The German skier Tobias Barnersoi complained to reporters that "the FIS had an entire year to draw up this paper, and we are meant to sign within 10 days."

"That's an injustice," he said. The lone dissenter among international federations, the Italian ski federation, issued an official declaration on Tuesday stating that it would submit the athlete's declaration to its skiers, and announced that it

would unilaterally bolster the safety of Italian World Cup skiers with broader insurance coverage.

"Unable to reopen an issue that had been raised unanimously by all the other federations," wrote its president, Carlo Valentini, "the Italian federation has concentrated on reinforcing the safety of its own athletes."

The ski federation's general secretary, Gianfranco Kasper, agrees that much of the controversy surrounding the release waiver is a result of the undue haste with which it has been submitted to the skiers.

"It's where skiers have been presented with a text, some-

times in a foreign language, that we've had problems," he told The Associated Press. "I'm convinced it's because they haven't understood the text."

Kasper also claims that the new regulation does not absolve race organizers of responsibility for accidents and fatalities that are a result of negligence.

"Judges still have the right to intervene and order an investigation if there is a suspicion of negligence," he said.

But as the women prepared to open their season Saturday in Park City, Utah, with a slalom followed by a giant slalom, the suspicions of the skiers had still to be laid to rest.

SCOREBOARD

19 (Draider 4), San Antonio 11 (D. Robinson 4),

22 40 28 111

Draider

C. Platen 10-17-4-25, Armstrong 7-12-4-5-7,

D. Adams 12-14-4-7, Abdul-Rahim 6-17-4-15,

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SPORTS



Roberto Baggio dodged Admira Wacker defender Helmut Graf for the first of his two goals, giving Juventus a 2-0 lead.

Lions Make Bills Look Like Turkeys

The Associated Press
PONTIAC, Michigan — Dave Krieg passed for 351 yards and three touchdowns Thursday while the Detroit Lions' defense harassed Jim Kelly with three sacks and two interceptions in a 35-21 victory over the Buffalo Bills in a National Football League game.

The loss left the Bills (6-6) at 500 deeper into the season than at any time since 1986, the last time they failed to qualify for the playoffs.

It is a situation the Bills clearly aren't used to. Usually at this point in the season the Bills, who have played in and lost the last four Super Bowls, are concerned with wrapping up home-field advantage for the playoffs.

They might still qualify for the AFC playoffs as a wild card, but the chances of catching the Miami Dolphins and winning the AFC East now seem remote.

The Lions (6-6), who remain alive for a wild card spot in the NFC playoffs, needed only two plays on two of their four touchdown drives.

Kelvin Pritchett, who had only two sacks all season, recorded all three hits on Kelly. Kelly completed 29 of 35 passes for 273 yards, with a 20-yard TD throw to Russell Copeland and a 27-yard scoring pass to Pete Metzelaars.

But the plays that hurt the Bills most were two fourth-quarter interceptions by Detroit safety Willie Clay, each just as Buffalo looked like it might make a comeback.

After the first interception, Krieg went 6-of-6 for 93 yards, the last play a 12-yard TD pass to Brett Perriman that put the Lions ahead, 28-14.

The Bills answered with a 73-yard, eight-play drive, Kelly scrambling in from 15 yards with 4:04 remaining to narrow the gap to seven points again.

Then, on the second snap of Buffalo's next possession, Clay stepped in front of Thurman Thomas, picked off an underthrown ball and ran 28 yards untouched for the clinching touchdown.

It was the third start for the veteran Krieg, forced to take over after Scott Mitchell broke his right wrist against Green Bay.

The Lions ran a flea-flicker on the second snap of the game and it worked for a 51-yard touchdown. Krieg handed off to Barry Sanders to start the play. He flipped the ball back to Krieg, who found Herman Moore wide open behind Henry Jones.

Sanders, who rushed 19 times for 45 yards, had a 4-yard TD run for a 14-0 lead in the second quarter.

Juventus Beats Admira, 3-1, in UEFA Cup

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

VIENNA — Juventus of Turin beat Admira Wacker, 3-1, on Thursday in a first-leg match of the UEFA Cup's third round. The result almost ensured the Italian team's advance into the quarterfinals.

Midfielder Antonio Conte put Juventus ahead in the ninth minute after Admira's goalkeeper, Wolfgang Knaller, failed to handle the ball.

Then it was the turn of Juventus' star Roberto Baggio, who pushed the ball through defender Helmut Graf's legs to

make it 2-0 in the 16th minute. Baggio got his second goal, in the 42nd minute, after Knaller dived to stop a shot by Baggio. But as the ball squirmed away, Baggio pounced to tap it into the net. Knaller protested in vain to the Scottish referee, Leslie Morrison, that he had the ball in his hands.

Michael Binder scored for Admira on a header in the 56th minute.

Napoli got away with just a 1-0 defeat at Eintracht Frankfurt despite being reduced to 10 men for the second half when

defender Fabio Cannavaro was given his second yellow card.

Even then, the German club's goal came from a deflection off Italian defender Renato Buso in the 54th minute.

Nantes, the French first division leader, crushed the visiting Swiss team 5-0, as Patrice Loko scored in the 15th minute and Jean-Michel Ferri in the 33d.

Goals by Japet N'Doram in the 51st minute and Claude Makelele in 78th gave Nantes what is likely an unbeatable edge when the teams play again in two weeks. (AP, Reuters)

Canadian Football: A New Indignity?

By Anne Swardson

Washington Post Service

TORONTO — Canadians have feared for years that their nation was being stolen by their neighbor to the south. Their movie stars leave for Hollywood, their tourists for Florida.

And an expansion team from Baltimore, a team less than a year old and with no name, may well win the 85-year-old Grey Cup, the emblem of the proud game of Canadian football.

This is only the second season in which American franchises have been allowed in the Canadian Football League. So when a 14-12 playoff victory over the Winnipeg Blue Bombers last Sunday sent Baltimore to the championship game against the British Columbia Lions this Sunday in Vancouver, Canadians were quick to worry that they were losing yet another national tradition.

"Since the Yanks have taken over much in this country that's worth taking, why should the CFL not go along with the trend?" a columnist, Jim Hunt, wrote in Monday's editions of the Toronto Sun.

Las Vegas and Shreveport, Louisiana, also have first-time CFL franchises this season. Last year, Sacramento, California, became the first American home for a CFL team. This week, a new expansion franchise will be awarded to Memphis, Tennessee. San Antonio, Texas; Birmingham, Alabama; Milwaukee; Hartford, Connecticut; and Long Island, New York, have been mentioned as possible sites for another. That would bring the total number of teams in the CFL to 14, eight of them Canadian and six American.

The southern migration of Canadian football mirrors the gradual transformation of the National Hockey League from a Canadian institution to a predominantly American phenomenon and raises fears that the one sport Canada had left to itself is being sucked away.

"The league is in grave danger of losing its Canadian identity," editorialized the Toronto Star when the Las Vegas franchise was announced. "There is the very real prospect of a Grey Cup game pitting, say, Sacramento against Nashville. The tradition of an all-Canadian Grey Cup that knits East and West together for one day a year will be lost."

According to the CFL commissioner, Larry Smith, southern expansion was not a choice but a necessity. Attendance at games has been declining steadily for several years, as has television viewership. Smaller-market teams such as the Ottawa Rough Riders and the Hamilton Tiger-Cats live hand-to-mouth.

"We had two options: Stay as a league north of the border and skip along, or get into bigger markets and grow our own and, especially because the end zone is deeper, there is more passing. The Bombers lost Sunday's game, for instance, partly because a pass from the quarterback, Matt Dunigan, to the slotback, Gerald Wilcox, in the end zone was deflected when it hit the crossbar."

Canadian fans complain that Baltimore's inaugural season has been so sensational because the team is not covered by the same rules as those governing Canadian-based franchises. Like Canadian radio and television stations, Canadian football

must meet Canadian-content quotas. None of the four American teams has any Canadian players, while all eight of the Canadian franchises must limit American participation to 17 players out of a 37-man roster.

Baltimore aficionados point out, however, that the other U.S. franchises have been struggling this season, and that their success comes because management selected seasoned CFL veterans as players along with some rookies, and chose as coach a six-time Grey Cup winner, Don Matthews — an American.

Although the game is similar to American football, there are some key differences. Each team uses 12 players rather than 11, and the field is 110 yards long and 65 yards wide. Three downs are played rather than four. The game is faster-paced, and, especially because the end zone is deeper, there is more passing. The Bombers lost Sunday's game, for instance, partly because a pass from the quarterback, Matt Dunigan, to the slotback, Gerald Wilcox, in the end zone was deflected when it hit the crossbar."

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Dan Ferrone, president of the Canadian Football League Players Association, which endorses the expansion.

Winnipeg fans at last Sunday's game, played in below-freezing temperatures with winds blowing at 35 miles (55 kilometers) an hour, indicated displeasure with the American incursion. A banner hanging at the game said, "No Grey in the U.S.A.," and two fans held the Stars and Stripes upside down — in a reference to the 1992 World Series, between Toronto and Atlanta, when Marines on parade inadvertently upended Canada's maple leaf flag.

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